

in fact are not needed—we cannot justify asking the shipowners or any other employer to subsidize unneeded work.

I wish to say most respectfully that that gets back to the decision, to which I referred, that I wrote many years ago in relation to economic waste practiced by workers. I yield to no one, as these workers know, in supporting proposed legislation necessary to provide people in this country with the economic protection which they deserve. But I shall not go on record in ever supporting a perpetuation of any "make work" program in connection with any dispute that has come to involve the rights of the employers in a labor dispute. I do not need to explain my consistent record over the years of standing up for the protection of legitimate economic rights of labor.

Mr. President, if one defends a "make work" program, as such, if the facts show it, the effort amounts to defending people taking the property of others without payment.

There are all sorts of ways to engage in an economic embezzlement; and a make-work program, in my judgment, constitutes a form of economic embezzlement.

Secretary Reynolds has made clear, and rightly so, that, so far as the Government is concerned, it does not intend to participate in further negotiations or hearings in regard to this contract. The shipowners have made clear that they stand on the contract that they have signed. To the everlasting credit of the officers of the union, through Mr. Gleason, their public announcements have been to the effect that the contract speaks for itself, and that they are not asking for a reopening of the proposed contract and further negotiations on that basis. I think the shipowners, the Government, and the union officials are completely correct in the position that they have taken.

Then I hear the statement, "But the fact remains, Senator, that a strike is going on."

That statement causes me again to walk where others might advise one not to tread. That causes me to give the following gratuitous advice to the rank and file of the longshoremen:

You know, as well as I do, that, of course, a strike in an industry as major as this one, long existing, costing the economy of this country many millions of dollars a day, is bound to create a serious domestic issue. For 20 years I have been opposing any legislation that proposed the substitution of compulsion for free collective bargaining and volunteerism in the relationships between management and worker.

I can be counted upon to continue to oppose it. I would cast the same vote today that I cast some 2 years ago, along with one other Member of the Senate, in opposition to the first compulsory arbitration bill that ever passed this body.

I do not believe in compulsory arbitration, because of its infringement on the precious right of economic freedom on the part of free workers and free employers. I consider that compulsory arbitration is as detrimental to the economic freedom of employers as it is to that of workers.

But I do not keep my head in the political sand. I would urge the longshoremen of the east coast also not to sink their heads in political sand, for we already read in today's press various trial balloon stories about rumbling movements that are on foot to seek to bring this dispute, if the situation worsens, to compulsory arbitration on the legislative stage. That would be a great mistake.

The longshoremen have two major, feasible courses of action open to them. The first is to restudy the contract, to be sure that they would cast the same vote against it that they cast before, after they have taken more time to analyze it, and to insist upon the right to vote on the contract separate and distinct from any issue involving internal union affairs, such as union dues.

I have a feeling that if the longshoremen will follow that wise course, they will, upon reflection, in their second vote, approve the contract. They should. It is a fair contract. I do not recommend that they vote for the contract in the belief that the contract gives them unfair advantages over the shipowners, because, in my judgment, it does not. The contract is equally fair and square to both sides to the dispute. That is why, with pleasure and justification, I heap my praises upon Jim Reynolds, Jim Healy, and Ted Kheel. I particularly pay high commendation to Jim Reynolds, because his two associates have made it very clear to me that it has been Jim Reynolds who, in these last critical stages resulting in the approval of the contract, has carried the great load.

My hunches and intuition tell me that if the longshoremen get a chance to vote a second time, the odds are in favor of their reconsideration and support for the contract. But if I should be mistaken in those hunches, I hope, as I have said before on the floor of the Senate in connection with other disputes, that the workers will not forget that the most precious right they have is the right to retain voluntarism in their relationship with their employers. In keeping with that principle of voluntarism, I hope that if they turn down the contract—it will be a tragic mistake if they do—they will at least give favorable consideration to offering to submit the dispute to voluntary arbitration on the basis of procedures that the parties can seek to negotiate between themselves, but with agreement in advance that they will agree to the decision handed down by the arbitrator or the board of arbitrators that may be established.

Let me quickly say, in closing, in order that there may be no question as to my meaning in respect to this proposal, that if the longshoremen follow the latter course, all the issues must be submitted to arbitration. It would be quite unfair and improper for the longshoremen to select only certain issues and ask that they go to arbitration, because the contract involves a package proposal, and the interrelationships of the various sections of a collective bargaining agreement bear heavily upon one another. It would be like serving a cake to one's children. Sometimes they may be tempted to eat only the frosting; then it is necessary to make clear to them that they must eat

the whole cake, and not limit themselves to the sweeties.

I hope it will not be necessary for the membership of the Longshoremen's Union to have to consider suggesting the type of voluntary arbitration I have outlined this afternoon. I hope that upon a re-vote upon the contract, following a further explanation of it to the membership, and a further study by the individuals, they will vote to approve the contract. But if they do not, as a friend of the collective bargaining and the settlement of disputes by peaceful procedures, not by compulsory mandate, I urge them not to put their heads in the political sand and blind themselves to what I believe would be the ugly reality of proposals in Congress to have compulsory arbitration. Although I would vote against such proposals, experience has already shown in the railroad case that a majority of Congress has voted for such proposal in the past, and I do not know of anyone who can give assurance that that would not happen again.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL FRIDAY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate adjourn until Friday next, at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 19 minutes p.m.), the Senate adjourned, in accordance with the order previously entered, until Friday, January 15, 1965, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 12, 1965:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Maurice M. Bernbaum, of Illinois, a Foreign Service officer of the class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Venezuela.

Wymberley DeR. Coerr, of Connecticut, a Foreign Service officer of the class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ecuador.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

John Doar, of Wisconsin, to be an Assistant Attorney General vice Burke Marshall, resigning.

IN THE COAST GUARD

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard for promotion to the grade of rear admiral:

Capt. Charles (n) Tighe.
Capt. Frank V. Helmer.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1965

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., quoted a twofold promise of the Scriptures, Psalm 29: 11: *The Lord will give strength unto His people; the Lord will bless His people with peace.*

O Thou God of all goodness may we daily become increasingly sensitive and aware of the glorious certainty that Thou hast placed at our disposal and

made available Thy bountiful providence.

May our minds and hearts expand with pride that our beloved country, conceived in sacrifice, and dedicated to Thy glory, is sharing its blessings with all mankind.

Show us how we may release the hidden splendor of humanity and bring to fulfillment and fruition its capacities for the true, the beautiful, and the noble qualities of the greater society and the more abundant life.

Hear us in the name of the Prince of Peace.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN THE FIELD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leadership of President Kennedy and President Johnson, as well as the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committees, the 88th Congress became known as the educational Congress.

I am introducing today the President's educational legislation in the field of our elementary and secondary programs.

Ever since I came to the Congress in 1948, I have been convinced of the great need for Federal financial assistance in strengthening elementary and secondary school programs so as to assure every child in the United States, and in particular, those school districts with limited financial resources, an opportunity for a solid foundation in the basic educational skills.

I am extremely pleased today in President Johnson's education message to the Congress, not only because of the total commitment it represents to strengthening elementary and secondary education, but also because it represents a realistic approach to the needs. I feel confident that it will be supported by all who are sincerely concerned as I am about the great need for strengthening our elementary and secondary school programs.

President Lyndon B. Johnson has indeed translated words of commitment into positive action in transmitting to the Congress today his legislative recommendations for elementary and secondary education and for the continued Federal concern and support that it evi-

dences of programs to assist our institutions of higher learning.

The formula for the distribution of \$1 billion in Federal funds among the States for the support of elementary and secondary school programs will enable each county, and in turn, each school district to know precisely the amount of Federal support for its school program so that school administrators will be in a position to plan elementary and secondary school expenditures so as to best enrich, expand, and strengthen learning opportunities. The use of funds apportioned to each school district is sufficiently flexible so as to enable the school district to meet the particular pressing needs confronting that district whether it be the construction of facilities, the improvement of teachers salaries structures, purchase of equipment and materials or the provision of supplementary school services.

The legislation, I feel confident, will meet the growing deficiencies in our elementary and secondary schools which have been occasioned by diminishing local financial resources in many areas.

In the educational programs strengthened through legislation enacted by the 88th Congress, we have done much to improve conditions in the special educational fields of higher learning and in vocational training. However, the success of these programs depends upon the ability of our elementary and secondary school systems to provide full opportunity for a strong academic background in basic educational skills. Elementary and secondary education is the foundation of our educational system and the message of the President recognizes this fact in the strengthening of the Federal aid program recommended.

I am very pleased to sponsor today the administration's bill and hereby insert for the RECORD additional information regarding this the most significant educational legislative proposal to be transmitted from the Office of the President to the Congress.

[From the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., Jan. 12, 1965]

FACT SHEETS ON ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

Authorization for fiscal 1966

	Millions
Title I—Education of children of low-income families.....	\$1,000
Title II—School library resources and instructional materials.....	100
Title III—Supplementary educational centers and services.....	100
Title IV—Educational research and training; Cooperative Research Act.....	45
Title V—State departments of education.....	10
Total.....	1,255

[Fact sheet 1]

TITLE I—IMPROVEMENT OF THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES

Background

"Every child must have the best education our Nation can provide," the President said in his 1965 state of the Union address.

Poverty paralyzes efforts to bring proper educational services and facilities within the reach of all the Nation's children. Left un-

checked, poverty's adverse effects become chronic and contagious, often leading to delinquency and crime.

Two-thirds of the families whose head has fewer than nine years of education are in poverty. Of those youths aged 18 to 24 with an eighth grade education or less, twenty percent are unemployed. In the Nation as a whole in 1960, there were 2.3 million school-age children living in families earning less than \$1,000 annually; 5 million children living in families earning less than \$2,000 a year.

In the slums, the schools are overcrowded; many are obsolete and unsafe. At least 30 percent of our schoolchildren go to school in classes averaging 30 or more pupils. In remote rural areas, schools often offer inadequate programs in inadequate facilities.

Of the 1.7 million classrooms now operating, nearly one-third were opened prior to 1930 and have since fallen far below acceptable standards. In some of our city slums, about half of all classrooms are at least 50 years old; many are still not fireproof.

Despite a massive effort on the part of our major cities, they generally spend only two-thirds as much per pupil as their suburbs. Up to one-third of the children in these cities are culturally and economically deprived, and from their number stem about 80 percent of all dropouts.

The disadvantaged child is a year behind in mastering school work by the time he reaches the third grade and up to three years behind if he reaches the eighth. Research shows that culturally disadvantaged children have only 1 chance in 1,000 to acquire effective learning habits without the benefit of special preschool orientation. This points to the need for services and facilities in behalf of deprived youngsters.

Over the 1963-73 period, public elementary school enrollments are expected to climb from 29.4 million to 32.1 million, an increase of 9 percent. Meanwhile, in nonpublic elementary schools, the estimated rise is from 5.4 to 5.9 million, also a 9-percent increase. Public secondary school enrollments will go from 10.9 million to an anticipated 14.2 million, up 30 percent; and the nonpublic secondary school enrollments are expected to rise by 38 percent, from 1.3 to 1.8 million.

Since 1946, State and local bonded indebtedness has risen approximately 450 percent, while Federal debt has increased approximately 14 percent. During the same period, State and local taxes have increased approximately 340 percent, while Federal taxes increased approximately 140 percent—before the 1964 Federal tax cut. Quality education requires increased Federal aid.

Few educational agencies have the resources to rehabilitate the victims of poverty or to provide educational programs that will adequately meet the needs of the greatly increased school-age population.

Proposal

Title I adds a 3-year program to Public Law 874 (school assistance for local educational agencies in areas affected by Federal activity) which is designed to encourage and support the establishment, expansion, and improvement of special programs, including the construction of minimum school facilities where needed, to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children of low-income families.

Public schools would be eligible for payments for programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children in school attendance areas having high concentrations of disadvantaged children. In these areas, the school district would design special educational services and arrangements, including those in which all children in need of such services could participate without full-time public school attendance. These special programs might include dual enrollment (shared services) arrangements, educa-

tional radio and television, mobile educational services, remedial education, preschool or afterschool programs, additional instructional personnel, equipment and facilities, and others judged necessary for improving the education of disadvantaged children.

Local educational agencies in a given county could be eligible for payments equal to one-half the average per pupil expenditure in that State multiplied by the number of children in that county (aged 5 to 17) in families having an annual income of less than \$2,000.

Children in low-income families in selected States and counties

State and county	Children aged 5 to 17 in families with less than \$2,000 annual income	Percent of total children aged 5 to 17	Federal payment
Alabama	226,700	25	\$31,738,000
Montgomery	8,311	19	1,163,540
Arkansas	139,702	29	21,095,002
Cleburne	1,176	51	177,576
California	227,007	6	60,137,510
Los Angeles	80,545	6	21,344,425
Florida	143,795	13	27,896,230
Dade (Miami)	22,519	11	4,368,686
Illinois	155,694	7	37,288,765
Cook (Chicago)	57,054	5	13,664,433
Kentucky	188,101	24	28,215,150
Metcalfe	1,132	56	169,800
Maryland	56,202	7	13,741,401
Baltimore City	20,902	10	5,110,540
Mississippi	232,603	37	28,028,704
Tunica	2,965	54	357,283
New Mexico	37,998	14	8,351,640
Sierra	622	50	136,840
New York	213,201	6	75,127,295
Erle (Buffalo)	12,432	5	4,382,280
Oregon	25,399	6	6,853,177
Multnomah (Portland)	6,291	5	1,726,880
Tennessee	213,694	23	31,092,525
Hancock	1,155	51	168,053
Texas	386,599	16	74,580,048
Comanche	1,189	49	230,072

The State educational agency would be responsible for distribution of the allotments within the State based on its approval of plans for special programs submitted by the local school districts. However, upon approval of their plans, the school districts in any given county would receive the total amount for which that county would be eligible under the distribution. In multi-district counties, the total amount for the county would be allocated by the State agency among the districts.

Federal funds made available under this title would be used essentially for improving the education of educationally deprived students, not for the general educational programs of the schools. State and local educational effort must also be maintained and, if possible, increased as a condition of receiving these funds.

Special educational efforts directed to those at the lower end of the economic spectrum will have a salutary effect on the entire educational system and will broaden the range of educational opportunity available to all children. School districts in approximately 95 percent of the Nation's 3,100 counties would be eligible for these poverty-linked funds.

First-year authorization would be approximately \$1 billion.

[Fact sheet 2]

TITLE II—SCHOOL LIBRARY RESOURCES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

Background

At all levels of education, teaching programs have become increasingly dependent upon a well-stocked library, the services of a professional librarian, and up-to-date textbooks. Basic courses in nearly all academic subjects, as well as the most advanced

courses, are dependent on libraries and instructional materials. That dependence will grow.

The great majority of our public schools do not have adequate library resources. In many schools, there is an average of less than one-half book per child and some cities spend less than 15 cents a year per child for library books. Today more than two out of every three public elementary schools have no libraries at all and more than 8 out of 10 lack trained librarians. The current public school level of 6.2 library books per pupil and \$2.28 annual expenditure for books per pupil are well below the recommended professional standards of 10 books and \$4 to \$6 annual expenditure for books per pupil.

To meet the accepted minimum standards for cities with populations above 500,000, there is a need for a fourfold increase in current expenditures for school library materials. The cost of books is up 82 percent since 1948. Using the base period 1957-59, the cost of books has risen more than a third while wholesale prices remained constant and consumer prices rose less than 7 percent. This naturally works the greatest hardship on poor school districts.

Textbook sales in the Nation in 1963 amounted to \$293 million, or only \$6.11 per student. In some States, as much as \$12.32 was spent per student; in others as little as \$4.76. A single modern, hardbound textbook in many subjects often costs as much or more than the entire year's budget for new instructional books. Moreover, a fourth of all the Nation's public high school systems do not provide free textbooks and it has been stated that high textbook fees are one of the reasons for the school dropout problem.

A new instructional development is the increased use of programed learning textbooks. From 1962 to 1963, programed texts increased from 122 to 352, over half in science and mathematics. But these new materials are expensive; they average \$10 to \$15 each, thus constituting a barrier to their adoption in all but the wealthiest school districts.

Proposal

Title II provides for a 5-year program to make available for the use of schoolchildren, school library resources and other printed and published instructional materials including textbooks essential to improved educational quality in the schools of the Nation.

A State plan would provide for a method of making available books, periodicals, documents, magnetic tapes, phonograph records and other printed and published materials for the use of all schoolchildren in the State.

Materials purchased with Federal funds would not be used for secretarial instruction or religious worship and when made available for the use of students in nonpublic schools would be the same as those used or approved for use in the public schools of the State. In those States legally unable to provide materials for students in nonpublic schools, the Commissioner of Education would make available to such children those materials used in the public schools of the State.

Funds would be allotted to the 50 States, District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands on the basis of the number of children enrolled in public and nonprofit private elementary and secondary schools in each State or territory. The previous level of non-Federal support for these materials would be maintained and, if possible, increased.

First-year authorization would be \$100 million.

[Fact sheet 3]

TITLE III—SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL CENTERS AND SERVICES

Background

While the problems existing in school districts impacted by poverty are particularly acute, there are also chronic limitations in elementary and secondary schools through-

out the Nation regardless of the level of community wealth. A fundamental weakness is the uneven distribution and inconsistent quality of educational, scientific, and cultural resources presently available.

Among the variety of supplementary services that make the difference between a poor school and a good school are special instruction in science, languages, music, and the arts; counseling and guidance; health and social work; and access to such resources as technical institutes, museums, art galleries, and theaters. In these respects there are many unmet needs.

Today less than one-quarter of our elementary schools have the services of a guidance counselor 1 or more days a week. More than 3 million elementary school children are estimated to be in need of social work or psychological services. At present, however, there are only about 3,000 school social workers on the staffs of the public schools; most school systems cannot afford to hire them. Although surveys show that today 7 to 14 percent of schoolchildren have significant emotional problems, more than 9 out of 10 school systems have no special programs for these children and are unable to deal with them effectively through their regular programs.

Reforms and improvements in science and language instruction appear in uneven quality throughout the country. In only 10 States do all secondary schools have science laboratory facilities. Science specialists generally agree that modern science cannot be taught properly without laboratories for teacher and student experimentations. Moreover, less than 30 percent of public secondary schools now have language laboratories available.

By 1968 at least 25,000 additional science laboratories will be needed in elementary schools to meet increases in enrollments—a 500-percent increase. At least 40,000 additional labs will be needed in the high schools, almost a 100-percent increase. Just to keep pace with growth, by 1968 elementary schools will need 8,000 additional language laboratories and high schools will need at least 20,000 more such labs. Centralized laboratory facilities serving a number of schools and systems are one of the answers to meeting this need where individual labs cannot be provided.

Although educational research is demonstrating the increased capability and advantages of early school experiences, about one-half of the Nation's 26,000 school districts today maintain schools without kindergartens, and in only 1 school district out of 260 is a nursery school available.

At a time of greatly accelerating needs, the Nation's educational structure is weakened both by the lack of these special programs and staffs within the schools and by the frequent insulation of students from the cultural, social, and scientific life of the community. Enrichment of the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools through supplementary services is essential to the total strength of education.

Proposal

Title III proposes a 5-year program to provide vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality in elementary and secondary schools and to develop and establish exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs. Special personnel, equipment, and other costly educational services not normally available in most schools would be made available for the widest possible participation of the entire community.

Grants would be made to a supplementary educational center and services organization created to establish and coordinate a program of supplementary educational services. Funds would be made available on the basis of an application reviewed by the State

educational agency and approved by the Commissioner of Education. The governing board of the organization would include representatives of the agencies and institutions participating in the conduct of the program. The participants would include at least one local educational agency and one or more of the following: Institutions of higher education, State educational agencies, public agencies such as health and welfare units, and private nonprofit agencies including nonpublic schools, museums, art galleries, educational television stations, and other cultural organizations.

Federal funds would be used for planning, pilot projects, and the establishment and operation of programs offering a diverse range of educational experience to children and adults of varying talents and needs. Programs might include guidance and counseling; remedial instruction; school health, psychological and social work services; enriched academic programs; afterschool study halls; continuing adult education; dual enrollment (shared services); specialized instruction and equipment; specially qualified personnel (including artists and musicians) on a temporary or other basis; educational radio and television programs; special educational services for persons in isolated rural areas; and other specially designed educational programs. Grants could also be used for the lease or construction of necessary facilities.

Children attending nonpublic as well as public schools and out-of-school youth and adults would have the opportunity to receive the services and participate in these educational and cultural activities.

An Advisory Committee on Supplementary Education Centers and Services would advise the Commissioner on the action to be taken on each application for a grant.

Initially, American Samoa, Guam and the Virgin Islands would each receive \$50,000. The 50 States, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico would each receive \$200,000. The remainder of the funds would be distributed among the States and Territories on the basis of (1) the number of children aged 5 to 17 and (2) the total population of each jurisdiction.

The first-year authorization would be \$100 million.

[Fact sheet 4]

TITLE IV—EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING; AMENDMENTS TO THE COOPERATIVE RESEARCH ACT OF 1954

Background

Eleven years ago Congress authorized the Commissioner of Education to enter into contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements with colleges, universities, and State educational agencies to conduct research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education. The program that has subsequently emerged from this decade of experience has two basic purposes: (1) To develop new knowledge about education, and (2) to develop new ways of applying existing knowledge.

Significant progress has been made in educational research. For example:

Programs have been developed to guide elementary pupils in discovering the basic concepts of modern mathematics; results are so encouraging that many school systems throughout the country are adopting these methods.

Two-year-old children have been taught to read—and to read well—in experimental programs that stimulate their curiosity and intellectual drive.

Grade school pupils have been successfully taught college-level economics, indicating that curriculum evaluation and research are necessities at all levels.

A New Jersey study of the education of migrant children points to new and more

fruitful directions for handling a problem that plagues most of our States.

A total of about \$16 million is being spent in fiscal year 1965 on cooperative research. Some 280 projects are involved. This is, however, a small answer to a great need. Only \$3 of every \$1,000 of Federal expenditures for research and development were devoted to education in 1964.

Education, with a total annual expenditure of about \$34 billion is the Nation's No. 1 industry. Yet we spend only \$72 million—one-fifth of 1 percent of our total educational outlays—for research and development in this vital field. By contrast, we spend \$8 billion annually for research and development on our Nation's defenses. Many progressive private industries invest as much as 10 percent of their total annual expenditures for research and development.

To carry out research is to assume the obligation of disseminating the findings, so that education as a whole may benefit. In medicine the average lag between research and its application is estimated at 2 years. In education, the process often takes 30 years or more. The record of education in publishing research findings has not been satisfactory. To help in finding a solution to this problem, pilot research and development centers have been established at a cost in 1965 of about \$1,900,000—at the Universities of Pittsburgh, Oregon, Wisconsin, and at Harvard University.

Each of these centers will conduct activities stretching across the research and development spectrum, including basic research, development of educational procedures and materials, field testing, and demonstration and dissemination. At the University of Pittsburgh, where the first center was established, significant results are being obtained. In one project, for example, courses of study have been tailored to fit the needs of the individual learner; in another, new educational devices are employed to motivate preschool children to read.

Such educational research and its dissemination help the schools and colleges of the Nation to carry on educational programs more efficiently, more effectively, and with greater economy of resources. But a mere four centers, with all their promise, cannot serve the needs of 26,000 school districts and a tenth as many institutions of higher learning. Other regions of the country and many other segments of education need assistance in the form of new R. & D. programs.

Proposal

Title IV would amend the Cooperative Research Act of 1954 (Public Law 83-531) by authorizing the training of research personnel and improved dissemination of information derived from educational research and development. Authority would be granted to utilize the research competence of research organizations not now eligible to contribute to the program, such as private noncollegiate research organizations and professional associations. In addition, the program would provide for the construction and operation of centers to improve the quality of teaching in our schools and for the purchase of research equipment.

Together, these amendments would permit the continued growth of educational research programs in the United States and an accelerated funding of research and development centers or regional educational laboratories. The goal: a national network of federally supported but State- and university-operated research centers.

Regional educational laboratories offer a promising way of meeting problems of research, development, and dissemination. They will help to train teachers and improve curriculums. They will draw equally upon educators and the practitioners in all the fields of learning—mathematicians, scientists, humanists, historians, economists, so-

cial scientists, linguists, musicians, artists, and writers.

These laboratories will have close ties with the State departments of education. They will also work directly with the schools and supplementary education centers in order to bring innovation directly to the student. They will train teachers as well as those who teach teachers.

First-year cost of these amendments would be \$45 million, in addition to the regular cooperative research budget of \$25 million in fiscal year 1966.

[Fact sheet 5]

TITLE V—STRENGTHENING STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Background

The immediate responsibility for providing professional counsel and direction to the schools lies with the various State departments of education. At the very time that demand for this kind of counsel and direction is on the increase, the ability of the State departments to respond is inadequate. The necessity of meeting school operating costs, of spending what it takes to keep sufficient classrooms available, exerts increasing pressure on the share of the school dollar made available to State departments of education. Moreover, the responsibility of ensuring the wise and proper use of Federal funds dispensed in a variety of Federal-State cooperative programs generally rests squarely with State educational agencies.

The States vary greatly in their educational expenditures. Some States spend barely \$200,000 a year for State educational leadership, while others spend more than 70 times that amount. Some States employ 500 professional educators; other States, as few as 35. Professionals to oversee school library services are lacking altogether in one-third of the State departments of education, while only 11 States have consultants in school social work. Moreover, during the past 5 years there has been a 40-percent turnover in State supervisory personnel; the majority have gone into better paying positions at the local level and in colleges and universities.

The department of education in a typical, middle-income State has 75 professional staff members available to serve as consultants to 20,000 school people—superintendents, principals, teachers, and others. On the average, these professionals are able to visit the State's schools for only one-half day each 7 years. Demands on the education budget are such in this State that no likelihood is foreseen in the ability of its department of education to improve its services.

If the States are to be strengthened and American education kept both strong and decentralized, measures are needed to bolster the administrative and legal foundations of our educational system.

Proposal

Title V proposes a 5-year program to stimulate and assist in strengthening the leadership resources of State educational agencies. The State educational agency would identify educational needs of the State and design programs to meet these needs.

Programs and activities might include long-range educational planning; improved collecting, processing, and analyzing of educational data (including use of automated data systems); conducting, sponsoring or co-operating in educational research; developing the competency of individuals who serve State or local educational agencies and provide leadership, administrative or specialist services; cooperation with institutions of higher education and local educational agencies to improve the quality of teacher preparation, including student teaching; and other special needs of State departments of education.

Eighty-five percent of the funds appropriated would be apportioned as follows: \$50,000 each to Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, and \$100,000 to each of the States, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The remainder of the 85 percent would be apportioned among the States and Territories based on the number of public school pupils. State agencies would apply to the Commissioner for a grant or grants

for part of the costs of their proposal. The Commissioner would approve applications if he determined that the proposal would be within the purposes of the law.

Fifteen percent of the funds appropriated would be reserved to the Commissioner to make special grants for research and demonstrations and for the establishment of special services which promise to help solve edu-

cational problems common to all or several of the State educational agencies.

First-year authorization would be \$10 million.

A second part of title V would permit an interchange of personnel between States and the Office of Education for cooperative educational activities and technical and other assistance which would assist in the strengthening of American education.

Estimated Federal payments under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

State	Education of children of low-income families	Supplementary educational centers and services	School library resources and instructional materials	Strengthening State departments of education	Total	State	Education of children of low-income families	Supplementary educational centers and services	School library resources and instructional materials	Strengthening State departments of education	Total
United States and outlying areas	\$1,000,000,000	\$100,000,000	\$100,000,000	\$8,500,000	\$1,208,500,000	New Hampshire	\$1,451,592	\$496,163	\$337,963	\$109,388	\$2,395,106
Alabama	31,738,000	1,848,183	1,743,209	161,458	35,490,850	New Jersey	17,777,548	3,159,017	3,250,467	193,995	24,881,027
Alaska	1,336,472	318,630	119,467	104,208	1,878,777	New Mexico	8,351,640	699,717	593,744	119,486	9,764,587
Arizona	9,100,006	937,181	819,362	127,384	10,983,933	New York	75,127,295	8,034,171	8,336,439	334,342	91,832,247
Arkansas	21,095,002	1,100,693	942,684	133,576	23,271,955	North Carolina	48,496,960	2,514,127	2,447,947	188,249	53,647,283
California	60,137,510	8,263,535	9,358,424	410,041	78,167,510	North Dakota	4,834,410	513,786	349,089	111,055	5,808,340
Colorado	7,721,560	1,109,926	1,071,419	135,638	10,038,543	Ohio	35,235,338	4,926,076	5,434,585	260,996	45,862,945
Connecticut	6,155,076	1,436,389	1,400,169	141,940	9,133,574	Oklahoma	14,777,840	1,325,618	1,273,402	144,929	17,521,789
Delaware	1,966,851	425,768	258,226	107,837	2,758,682	Oregon	6,853,177	1,069,776	980,782	133,013	9,036,749
Florida	27,896,230	2,710,131	2,617,466	188,687	33,412,514	Pennsylvania	44,890,181	5,407,680	5,938,648	265,660	56,502,169
Georgia	34,517,871	2,235,274	2,185,906	178,025	39,117,076	Rhode Island	3,399,750	601,767	430,178	111,285	4,542,980
Hawaii	1,904,676	531,380	393,138	111,804	2,940,998	South Carolina	25,519,125	1,452,925	1,326,833	147,371	28,446,254
Idaho	2,100,136	537,339	372,489	112,917	3,122,881	South Dakota	6,142,156	542,251	388,881	112,284	7,185,572
Illinois	37,288,765	4,943,134	5,389,313	253,009	47,874,221	Tennessee	31,092,525	1,970,661	1,835,751	167,730	35,066,667
Indiana	18,424,129	2,458,260	2,541,258	182,383	23,606,030	Texas	74,580,048	5,097,472	5,373,277	284,529	85,335,326
Iowa	16,346,232	1,491,506	1,491,407	146,459	19,475,604	Utah	2,373,062	691,632	590,688	121,164	3,776,546
Kansas	9,090,592	1,233,866	1,152,628	137,925	11,615,011	Vermont	1,489,957	390,835	299,098	106,137	2,196,027
Kentucky	28,215,150	1,691,776	1,557,466	149,679	31,614,071	Virginia	29,312,850	2,221,193	2,106,138	172,557	33,812,738
Louisiana	37,904,234	1,882,932	1,932,808	158,875	41,878,849	Washington	9,525,713	1,592,775	1,599,956	153,808	12,872,262
Maine	3,780,000	660,364	528,537	116,335	5,085,236	West Virginia	15,554,250	1,072,551	929,563	132,645	17,689,009
Maryland	13,741,401	1,783,996	1,818,913	155,996	17,499,406	Wisconsin	14,471,631	2,123,991	2,290,563	162,258	19,048,443
Massachusetts	11,908,492	2,588,350	2,635,630	174,363	17,306,835	Wyoming	1,358,100	363,499	188,433	106,592	2,016,624
Michigan	29,765,556	4,062,794	4,695,888	243,670	38,767,908	District of Columbia	3,825,800	534,934	347,598	110,588	4,818,920
Minnesota	19,248,386	1,867,997	1,998,425	159,008	23,273,816	American Samoa		62,258	16,814	50,505	208,231
Mississippi	28,028,704	1,341,527	1,224,582	143,346	30,738,159	Canal Zone					
Missouri	25,957,735	2,194,717	2,321,138	171,011	30,644,601	Guam		82,921	44,901	51,215	368,109
Montana	3,511,907	538,784	384,799	112,351	4,547,841	Puerto Rico		1,531,408	1,407,539	146,269	48,219,573
Nebraska	6,774,304	881,108	779,136	123,765	8,558,313	Virgin Islands		67,316	26,033	50,687	708,576
Nevada	631,040	377,940	212,853	104,473	1,326,306						

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. I want to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, who has done so much in this field for so many years, on the statement he has made in reference to the message on education which President Johnson has sent to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the President has sent the Congress a great and challenging message on education. It should be broadcast throughout the land.

He has laid his case in eloquent terms for a massive assault on ignorance. All Americans should know why his cornerstone for the building of a Great Society, why his master battle plan of the war against poverty, is the creation of full educational opportunity.

America is more than the land of the free. It is equally the land of opportunity. Today, more than ever, freedom and opportunity are the creation and children of education.

Our schoolrooms are crowded by the postwar baby booms. Our labor force suffers from the upgrading of skills demanded by automation. Our local school districts—especially those in low-income areas—are strained to raise the means to support the school systems demanded by the times.

President Johnson made the case that education is the No. 1 business of the American people. In the coming decade, education must become the No. 1 in-

dustry in America. To do less is to jeopardize freedom, curtail opportunity, and risk the birthright of every American.

I am confident this Congress and this administration, together with the 50 States and the local school authorities, will meet the educational challenge of today.

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER. I would like to add my compliments to those of the majority leader. I think the gentleman from Kentucky has made a magnificent contribution in this field.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's great education program will provide exciting new breakthroughs from the top to the bottom of our educational system. Education is the keystone of the arch in building the Great Society. We have suffered by failing to recognize the terrible urgency of action; we have suffered through internecine warfare over religious and other matters; precious time has been lost by squabbling, shibboleths, and scapegoats. The President has now sounded the clarion call and made education the national imperative.

As a former teacher, I have the deep conviction that we must act now to bolster education or be resigned to the role of a second-rate power. Long ago we should have realized the truth of the President's statement that education is more important than military expendi-

tures. The President very correctly noted that "armed might is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace."

We in West Virginia, Mr. Speaker, are acutely aware of the extremely close relationship between education and economic progress. We are making great strides in vocational training and retraining programs, in implementing the tremendous boost given to higher education by the 88th Congress, and in devising new educational programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. Under the terms of the President's proposals for elementary and secondary education, out of \$1.2 billion nationally, the State of West Virginia would receive \$15,554,250 to aid in the education of children of low-income families; \$1,072,551 for supplementary educational centers and services; \$929,563 for strengthening school library resources and instructional materials; and \$132,645 for strengthening the West Virginia State Department of Education.

The President's new education program contains many features which will prove particularly beneficial to West Virginia. Children of low-income families and in areas where the tax base is inadequate have the right to get an education just as much as those children who grow up in wealthy suburbs. I am glad to see the emphasis placed on improving school libraries, on setting up supplementary educational centers and regional education laboratories. The student assistance features of the President's higher

education proposals and the strengthening of smaller colleges will aid also in building higher education in West Virginia and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen, as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, that we face a critical shortage and serious future demand for trained scientists. Yet we must train not only in the sciences, but it is also vital to educate for future leadership in the social sciences and the humanities. Dr. Albert Schweitzer once said that this is the most dangerous period in all human history because up to now nature has controlled man, but now man has learned to harness and control certain elemental forces before he has learned to control himself. The genius in the laboratory must be matched by the genius in social organization, human relationships, the proper use and enjoyment of leisure, and above all the nurturing of those spiritual qualities without which humanity cannot survive. Yes, Mr. Speaker, we must seek out and cultivate excellence and superiority in every field of human endeavor.

President Johnson has blown the trumpet call to action. On this 12th day of January, I am proud to be a Member of the Congress of the United States as we rise to our responsibility to enact a program for education which now constitutes America's great unfinished business.

LITERACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION TESTS MUST BE ABOLISHED

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in his state of the Union message on January 4 the President proposed that "we eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote."

The right to vote is a fundamental principle, upon which rests the very foundation of our democracy. The 15th amendment to the Constitution recognizes the vital importance of the right to vote and declares:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Despite the constitutional guarantee, the right to vote has been denied to a substantial number of American citizens.

The fact of discrimination against Negro citizens in voting is well established. In Mississippi only 5 to 6 percent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote. In Alabama only 18.7 percent of the nonwhites are registered. In Virginia nonwhite registration is 24.8 percent, while in South Carolina and Louisiana it is 30 percent and 31.4 percent, respectively.

The events of last summer focused national attention on the efforts of the

State of Mississippi to deny Negro citizens the right to vote. Terror, intimidation, and even murder are used to keep the Negro from the voting booth.

However, more subtle means are also used to accomplish this unconstitutional result. The literacy test, including constitutional interpretation tests, is a primary tool employed to flaunt the 15th amendment.

I have seen at firsthand how the constitutional interpretation test is used in Mississippi to discriminate against Negro citizens.

Section 244 of the Mississippi constitution requires that an applicant "be able to read and write any section of the constitution of the State and give a reasonable interpretation thereof to the county registrar." County clerks have complete discretion in administering and grading the test. They select the section to be interpreted. I have seen sections selected for Negroes which constitutional lawyers would find difficult to explain. On the other hand, white applicants are given the easiest sections.

Even when a reasonable interpretation has been given by a Negro, the application has been rejected. In many instances whites who were unable to interpret the simple sections have been accepted.

Mr. Speaker, the fact that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not abolish constitutional interpretation tests and similar devices is a glaring omission which must be corrected immediately. The time is long overdue to end discrimination in voting and abolish all literacy tests.

Today I have introduced the first bill to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It outlaws all literacy tests as a qualification for voting in any election—State or Federal. Literacy tests, interpretation and comprehension tests, tests designed to test reasoning ability or power of analysis are obstacles to the right and opportunity to vote which must be eliminated.

The abolition of literacy tests will also make it possible for large numbers of Spanish-speaking citizens of New York and other States to exercise their rights to vote which have been impeded by the existence of literacy requirements—no matter how fairly and objectively administered. In a democracy there is no reason to erect barriers to the franchise, and Congress must remove them wherever they exist.

HARBOR AT PORT ORFORD, OREG.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the bill I am introducing today seeks the assistance of the Federal Government in improving the harbor at Port Orford, Oreg., the only port on the Oregon coast that has relied solely on its own efforts to create a safe harbor for

commerce and refuge. Port Orford has never had a Federal project for navigation.

The people of Port Orford, at their own expense 30 years ago, constructed a lumber and fish pier. This was destroyed by storm the following year, and the people rebuilt the pier again with only local funds and constructed a breakwater to protect the harbor to the extent they could from the ravages of winter storms.

But this was not enough protection because they had to rebuild the pier four times and extend the breakwater for additional protection, again with local funds only.

This harbor is vital to the livelihoods of the people in the Port Orford area but, as the Army Corps of Engineers study points out, the exposure to winter storms hampers the use of the harbor. The corps has recommended a 550-foot extension of the breakwater to eliminate damages to the terminal structures, assure more efficient and economical movement of wood products, and permit safe moorage of fishing boats and other small craft. Corps studies showed a 1.9 cost benefit ratio for this feasible and necessary harbor improvement.

The people of the Port Orford area are to be complimented for their willingness to carry this burden alone for decades. They have invested almost \$500,000 to create a commercially efficient harbor as well as a safe refuge port.

Port Orford is a deepwater port. No bar hampers ingress and egress. Its development is essential to the economic growth of the community.

If this port is to serve the commercial needs of the area upon which the people depend for their livings, and if the port is to be protected from winter storms and serve as a refuge, the breakwater must be extended. It is economically feasible. It is necessary. But local people can no longer carry the burden alone. The estimated total cost of the project would be \$696,000.

I am confident this project will have the support of the Congress.

CODE OF ETHICS FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND THEIR LEGISLATIVE EMPLOYEES

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a House resolution which would establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct to recommend to the House a comprehensive code of ethics for Members and their legislative employees. It specifically requires the select committee to make its recommendations within 1 year. My distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from New York, JACOB K. JAVITS, is also introducing today in the other body similar legislation relating to Senators and their legislative employees.

It is essential in my judgment that the House regain to every extent possible the confidence of the American people in the area of congressional ethics.

We cannot continue to function with a double standard of ethics—one set for the executive branch, but none for the legislative branch. In 1962 the Congress passed a modern conflicts-of-interest code for the executive branch of our Government. This was a signal achievement and represented the first major overhaul of our conflicts-of-interest laws in the 20th century. However, an appropriate code for employees and Members of the Congress totaling some 25,000 was not enacted. This is an omission which should be promptly remedied.

The resolution would establish an interim code of ethics—which would require a Member of the House to file with the Comptroller General a record of any financial interests valued at \$5,000 or more—in an activity which is subject to the jurisdiction of a Federal regulatory agency. It would ban the use of confidential information for other than official purposes; and would bar the use of official influence to gain special privileges or exemptions. Another provision would require Members of the House to disclose any pecuniary interest in the passage or defeat of legislation before voting on it.

Mr. Speaker, I am also introducing a companion measure which would amend the Administrative Procedure Act to require that any written or oral communication between a Member of the Congress or his staff and a regulatory agency in adjudicatory proceedings be made a part of the public record.

In a word, I, along with others of my colleagues, urge the need for Congress to put its own Houses in order. Only in this fashion can we be a respected and truly coordinate branch of the Government.

TOWARD FULL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 45)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1787, the Continental Congress declared in the Northwest Ordinance:

Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

America is strong and prosperous and free because for 178 years we have honored that commitment.

In the United States today—

One-quarter of all Americans are in the Nation's classrooms.

High school attendance has grown eighteenfold since the turn of the century—six times as fast as the population.

College enrollment has advanced eightyfold. Americans today support a fourth of the world's institutions of higher learning and a third of its professors and college students.

In the life of the individual, education is always an unfinished task.

And in the life of this Nation, the advancement of education is a continuing challenge.

There is a darker side to education in America:

One student out of every three now in the fifth grade will drop out before finishing high school—if the present rate continues.

Almost a million young people will continue to quit school each year—if our schools fail to stimulate their desire to learn.

Over 100,000 of our brightest high school graduates each year will not go to college—and many others will leave college—if the opportunity for higher education is not expanded.

The cost of this neglect runs high—both for the youth and the Nation.

Unemployment of young people with an eighth-grade education or less is four times the national average.

Jobs filled by high school graduates rose by 40 percent in the last 10 years. Jobs for those with less schooling decreased by nearly 10 percent.

We can measure the cost in even starker terms. We now spend about \$450 a year per child in our public schools. But we spend \$1,800 a year to keep a delinquent youth in a detention home, \$2,500 a year for a family on relief, \$3,500 a year for a criminal in State prison.

The growing numbers of young people reaching school age demand that we move swiftly even to stand still.

Attendance in elementary and secondary schools will increase by 4 million in the next 5 years. Four hundred thousand new classrooms will be needed to meet this growth. But almost one-half million of the Nation's existing classrooms are already more than 30 years old.

The post-World War II boom in babies has now reached college age. And by 1970, our colleges must be prepared to add 50 percent more enrollment to their presently overcrowded facilities.

In the past, Congress has supported an increasing commitment to education in America. Last year, I signed historic measures passed by the 88th Congress to provide—

Facilities badly needed by universities, colleges, and community colleges;

Major new resources for vocational training;

More loans and fellowships for students enrolled in higher education;

Enlarged and improved training for physicians, dentists, and nurses.

I propose that the 89th Congress join me in extending the commitment still further. I propose that we declare a national goal of full educational opportunity.

Every child must be encouraged to get as much education as he has the ability to take.

We want this not only for his sake—but for the Nation's sake.

Nothing matters more to the future of our country: not our military preparedness—for armed might is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace; not our productive economy—

for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower; not our democratic system of government—for freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant.

We must demand that our schools increase not only the quantity but the quality of America's education. For we recognize that nuclear age problems cannot be solved with horse-and-buggy learning. The three R's of our school system must be supported by the three T's—teachers who are superior, techniques of instruction that are modern, and thinking about education which places it first in all our plans and hopes.

Specifically, four major tasks confront us:

To bring better education to millions of disadvantaged youths who need it most;

To put the best educational equipment and ideas and innovations within reach of all students;

To advance the technology of teaching and the training of teachers;

To provide incentives for those who wish to learn at every stage along the road to learning.

Our program must match the magnitude of these tasks. The budget on education which I request for fiscal year 1966 will contain a total of \$4.1 billion. This includes \$1.1 billion to finance programs established by the 88th Congress. I will submit a request for \$1.5 billion in new obligatory authority to finance the programs described in this message. This expenditure is a small price to pay for developing our Nation's most priceless resource.

In all that we do, we mean to strengthen our State and community education systems. Federal assistance does not mean Federal control—as past programs have proven. The late Senator Robert Taft declared:

Education is primarily a State function—but in the field of education, as in the fields of health, relief and medical care, the Federal Government has a secondary obligation to see that there is a basic floor under those essential services for all adults and children in the United States.

In this spirit, I urge that we now push ahead with the No. 1 business of the American people—the education of our youth in preschools, elementary and secondary schools, and in the colleges and universities.

I. PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

My budget will include up to \$150 million for preschool projects under the community action program of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Education must begin with the very young. The child from the urban or rural slum frequently misses his chance even before he begins school. Tests show that he is usually a year behind in academic attainment by the time he reaches third grade—and up to 3 years behind if he reaches the eighth grade. By then the handicap has grown too great for many children. Their horizons are narrowed; their prospects for lifetimes of failure have hardened. A large percentage of our young people whose family incomes are less than \$2,000 do not go beyond the eighth grade.

Preschool programs have demonstrated marked success in overcoming this initial handicap:

In New York City, children from slum neighborhoods who attended nursery school have performed better when tested in the third and fourth grades than those who did not attend.

In Baltimore, children with language and cultural handicaps are being helped greatly by a preschool program. According to preliminary reports, two-thirds of them are in the top 50 percent of their kindergarten and first-grade classes on a citywide measure; one-sixth of them are in the top quarter.

But today, almost half of our school districts conduct no kindergarten classes. Public nursery schools are found in only about 100 of our 26,000 school districts. We must expand our preschool program in order to reach disadvantaged children early.

Action on a wide front will begin this summer through a special "head start" program for children who are scheduled to begin school next fall. In addition, funds for low-income schools, regional education laboratories, and supplementary educational centers and services—recommended below—will be devoted to these vital preschool programs.

II. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Elementary and secondary schools are the foundation of our education system.

Forty-eight million students are now in our grade and high schools.

Seventy-one percent of the Nation's expenditures for education are spent on elementary and secondary schooling.

If these schools are to do their job properly, they need help and they need it now. I propose that we give first priority to a program of:

A. Aid to low-income school districts:

I recommend that legislation be enacted to authorize a major program of assistance to public elementary and secondary schools serving children of low-income families. My budget for fiscal year 1966 will request \$1 billion for this new program.

One hundred years ago, a man with 6 or 7 years of schooling stood well above the average. His chances to get ahead were as good as the next man's. But today, lack of formal education is likely to mean low wages, frequent unemployment, and a home in an urban or rural slum.

Poverty has many roots but the taproot is ignorance.

Poverty is the lot of two-thirds of the families in which the family head has had 8 years or less of schooling.

Twenty percent of the youth aged 18 to 24 with an eighth-grade education or less are unemployed—four times the national average.

Just as ignorance breeds poverty, poverty all too often breeds ignorance in the next generation.

Nearly half the youth rejected by Selective Service for educational deficiency have fathers who are unemployed or else working in unskilled and low-income jobs.

Fathers of more than one-half of the draft rejectees did not complete the eighth grade.

The burden on the Nation's schools is not evenly distributed. Low-income families are heavily concentrated in particular urban neighborhoods or rural areas. Faced with the largest educational needs, many of these school districts have inadequate financial resources. This imbalance has been increased by the movement of high-income families from the center of cities to the suburbs—and their replacement by low-income families from rural areas.

The five States with the lowest incomes spend only an average of \$276 per pupil, less than half the average of the five highest income States.

Despite a massive effort, our big cities generally spend only about two-thirds as much per pupil as their adjacent suburbs.

In our 15 largest cities, 60 percent of the 10th-grade students from poverty neighborhoods drop out before finishing high school.

This is a national problem. Federal action is needed to assist the States and localities in bringing the full benefits of education to children of low-income families.

Assistance will be provided—

On the basis of census data showing the distribution of low-income families among the counties or school districts within States.

Through payments made to States for distribution to school districts.

With the assurance that the funds will be used for improving the quality of education in schools serving low-income areas.

On the condition that Federal funds will not be used to reduce State and local fiscal efforts.

For the benefit of all children within the area served, including those who participate in shared services or other special educational projects.

B. School library resources and instructional materials:

I recommend legislation to authorize Federal grants to States to assist in the purchase of books for school libraries and for student use, to be made available to children in public and private non-profit elementary and secondary schools.

Thomas Carlyle once said:

All that mankind has done, thought, gained or been: it is lying as in magic preservation in the pages of books.

Yet our school libraries are limping along.

Almost 70 percent of the public elementary schools have no libraries. Eighty-four percent lack librarians to teach children the value of learning through good books.

Many schools have an average of less than one-half book per child.

To meet the accepted standards for library materials would require a four-fold increase in current expenditures in our major cities.

The explosion of knowledge and the rapid revision of curriculums in the schools has created new demands for school textbooks. The obsolete text can suffocate the learning process. Yet the cost of purchasing textbooks at increasing prices puts a major obstacle in the path of education—an obstacle that can and must be eliminated.

C. Supplementary educational centers and services:

I recommend a program of Federal grants for supplementary education centers and services within the community.

We think of schools as places where youth learns, but our schools also need to learn.

The educational gap we face is one of quality as well as quantity.

Exciting experiments in education are underway, supported by the National Science Foundation, by the Office of Education, and other Government agencies, and by private philanthropic foundations. Many of our children have studied the "new" math. There are highly effective ways of teaching high school physics, biology, chemistry, and foreign languages.

We need to take full advantage of these and other innovations. Specialists can spark the interest of disadvantaged students. Remedial reading courses open up new vistas for slow learners. Gifted students can be brought along at a faster pace.

Yet such special educational services are not available in many communities. A limited local tax base cannot stand the expense. Most individual schools are not large enough to justify the services.

The supplementary center can provide such services as:

Special courses in science, foreign languages, literature, music, and art.

Programs for the physically handicapped and mentally retarded.

Instruction in the sciences and humanities during the summer for economically and culturally deprived children.

Special assistance after regular school hours.

Common facilities that can be maintained more efficiently for a group of schools than for a single school—laboratories, libraries, auditoriums, and theaters.

A system by which gifted persons can teach part time to provide scarce talents.

A means of introducing into the school system new courses, instructional materials, and teaching practices.

A way of tapping the community's extracurricular resources for the benefit of students—museums, concert, and lecture programs, and industrial laboratories.

Within each community, public and private nonprofit schools and agencies will cooperate to devise the plan and administer the program for these supplementary centers. Their services should be adapted to meet the pressing needs of each locality.

D. Regional education laboratories:

I recommend the establishment under the Cooperative Research Act of regional educational laboratories which will undertake research, train teachers, and implement tested research findings.

I further recommend amendments to the act to—

Broaden the types of research organizations now eligible for educational projects.

Train educational research personnel.

Provide grants for research, development of new curricula, dissemination of information, and implementation of educational innovations.

Support construction of research facilities and the purchase of research equipment.

Under auspices of the National Science Foundation, educators have worked with scientists—including Nobel laureates—to develop courses which capture the excitement of contemporary science. They have prepared totally new instructional materials—laboratory equipment, textbooks, teachers' guides, films, supplementary reading, and examinations. After testing they are made available to public and private schools.

We need to extend our research and development—to history, literature, and economics; to art and music; to reading, writing, and speaking; to occupational, vocational, and technical education. We need to extend it to all stages of learning—preschool, elementary and secondary schools, college and graduate training.

Regional laboratories for education offer great promise. They draw equally upon educators and the practitioners in all fields of learning—mathematicians, scientists, social scientists, linguists, musicians, artists, and writers. They help both to improve curricula and to train teachers.

E. Strengthening State educational agencies:

I recommend a program of grants to State educational agencies.

State leadership becomes increasingly important as we seek to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education.

We should assist the States by strengthening State departments of education in their efforts to—

Provide consultative and technical assistance for local school districts and local school leadership.

Formulate long-range plans.

Expand educational research and development.

Improve local and State information about education.

Identify emerging educational problems.

Provide for the training of State and local education personnel.

Conduct periodic evaluation of educational programs.

Promote teacher improvement courses.

These new programs will substantially augment community resources in the war against poverty. As provided by sections 611 and 612 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, I will see that the new efforts are kept in step with our other antipoverty efforts.

In those localities where the community has undertaken a community action program under the Economic Opportunity Act, the community agency should participate in the planning of these new educational programs and in their coordination with on-going and developing antipoverty efforts.

Enactment of these proposals for elementary and secondary education is of utmost urgency. I urge early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

III. HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education is no longer a luxury, but a necessity.

Programs enacted by Congress in the past have contributed greatly to strengthening our colleges and universities. These will be carried forward under my 1966 budget, which includes:

An additional \$179 million to assist construction of college classrooms, libraries, and laboratories.

An additional \$25 million for 4,500 more graduate fellowships to overcome college teaching shortages.

An additional \$110 million to further basic research in the universities, to provide science fellowships, and to promote science education.

But we need to do more:

To extend the opportunity for higher education more broadly among lower and middle income families.

To help small and less well developed colleges improve their programs.

To enrich the library resources of colleges and universities.

To draw upon the unique and invaluable resources of our great universities to deal with national problems of poverty and community development.

A. ASSISTANCE TO STUDENTS

1. Scholarships:

I recommend a program of scholarships for needy and qualified high school graduates to enable them to enter and to continue in college.

Loans authorized by the National Defense Education Act currently assist nearly 300,000 college students. Still the following conditions exist:

Each year an estimated 100,000 young people of demonstrated ability fail to go on to college because of lack of money. Many thousands more from low-income families must borrow heavily to meet college costs.

Only one out of three young people from low-income families attend college compared with four out of five from high-income families.

For many young people from poor families loans are not enough to open the way to higher education.

Under this program, a special effort will be made to identify needy students of promise early in their high school careers. The scholarship will serve as a building block, to be augmented by work-study and other support, so that the needy student can chart his own course in higher studies.

My 1966 budget provides sufficient funds for grants to help up to 140,000 students in the first year.

2. Expansion of work-study opportunity and guaranteed low-interest loans.

I recommend—

That the existing college work-study program be made available to more students and that authority for the program be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

That a part of the cost of interest payments on guaranteed private loans to college students be paid by the Federal Government.

Going to college is increasingly expensive. A student must pay nearly \$2,400 a year in a private college and about \$1,600 in a public college. These costs may rise by one-third over the next decade.

Two aids should be extended to meet the heavy costs of college education. First, the existing work-study program should be expanded for students from low-income families and extended to students from middle-income families. Under this program the Federal Government pays 90 percent of the wages earned by students on useful projects. This will enable a student to earn on the average of \$450 during a school year, and up to \$500 more during the summer.

Second, many families cannot cover all of college expenses on an out-of-pocket basis. We should assure greater availability of private credit on reasonable terms and conditions. This can best be done by paying part of interest cost of guaranteed loans made by private lenders—a more effective, fairer, and far less costly way of providing assistance than the various tax credit devices which have been proposed.

B. AID TO SMALLER COLLEGES

I recommend that legislation be enacted to strengthen less developed colleges.

Many of our smaller colleges are lacking proper accreditation, and others face constantly the threat of losing accreditation. Many are isolated from the main currents of academic life.

Private sources and States alone cannot carry the whole burden of doing what must be done for these important units in our total educational system; Federal aid is essential.

Universities should be encouraged to enter into cooperative relationships to help less developed colleges, including such assistance as:

A program of faculty exchanges.

Special programs to enable faculty members of small colleges to renew and extend knowledge of their fields.

A national fellowship program to encourage highly qualified young graduate students and instructors in large universities to augment the teaching resources of small colleges.

The development of joint programs to make more efficient use of available facilities and faculty.

In union there is strength. This is the basic premise of my recommendation.

C. SUPPORT FOR COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES

I recommend enactment of legislation for purchase of books and library materials to strengthen college teaching and research.

Fifty percent of our 4-year institutions and 82 percent of our 2-year institutions fall below accepted professional standards in the number of volumes possessed.

As student enrollment mounts, we must look not only to the physical growth of our colleges and universities. They must be developed as true centers of intellectual activity. To construct a library building is meaningless unless there are books to bring life to the library.

D. UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY EXTENSION PROGRAM

I recommend a program of grants to support university extension concentrating on problems of the community.

Institutions of higher learning are being called on ever more frequently for

public service—for defense research, foreign development, and countless other programs. They have performed magnificently. We must now call upon them to meet new needs.

Once, 90 percent of our population earned its living from the land. A wise Congress enacted the Morrill Act of 1862 and the Hatch Act of 1887 which helped the State universities help the American people. With the aid of the land-grant colleges, American agriculture produced overwhelming abundance.

Today, 70 percent of our people live in urban communities. They are confronted by problems of poverty, residential blight, polluted air and water, inadequate mass transportation and health services, strained human relations, and overburdened municipal services.

Our great universities have the skills and knowledge to match these mountainous problems. They can offer expert guidance in community planning; research and development in pressing educational problems; economic and job market studies; continuing education of the community's professional and business leadership; and programs for the disadvantaged.

The role of the university must extend far beyond the ordinary extension-type operation. Its research findings and talents must be made available to the community. Faculty must be called upon for consulting activities. Pilot projects, seminars, conferences, TV programs, and task forces drawing on many departments of the university—all should be brought into play.

This is a demanding assignment for the universities, and many are not now ready for it. The time has come for us to help the university to face problems of the city as it once faced problems of the farm.

E. SPECIAL MANPOWER NEEDS

We must also ask the colleges and universities to help overcome certain acute deficiencies in trained manpower. At least 100,000 more professional librarians are needed for service in public libraries and in schools and colleges. We need 140,000 more teachers for handicapped children.

I recommend:

Grants to institutions of higher education for training of school, college, and community librarians and related services.

Extension and expansion of grants for training teachers and handicapped children.

CONCLUSION

In 1838, Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second President of the Republic of Texas and the father of Texas education, declared:

The cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. It is the only dictator that freeman acknowledges. It is the only security that freeman desires.

Throughout the history of our Nation, the United States has recognized this truth. But during the periods when the country has been most astir with creative activity, when it most keenly sensed the sturdiness of the old reaching out for

the vigor of the new, it has given special attention to its educational system.

This was true in the expansive 1820's and 1830's, when the American people acted decisively to build a public school system for the lower grades. It was no less true at the vigorous turn of the 20th century, when high schools were developed for the millions. Again, during the questing 1930's, fresh ideas stirred the traditions of the ruler and blackboard.

We are now embarked on another venture to put the American dream to work in meeting the new demands of a new day. Once again we must start where men who would improve their society have always known they must begin—with an educational system restudied, reinforced, and revitalized.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 12, 1965.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON EDUCATION

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, may extend his remarks at this point on the President's message and include extraneous matter, fact sheets, and other pertinent data.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the administration's proposals on education as enumerated above, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a summary fact sheet on the proposals, as embodied in "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965":

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

Authorization for fiscal 1966

	Millions
Title I—Education of children of low-income families.....	\$1,000
Title II—School library resources and instructional materials.....	100
Title III—Supplementary educational centers and services.....	100
Title IV—Educational research and training; Cooperative Research Act.....	45
Title V—State departments of education	10
Total	1,255

TITLE I—IMPROVEMENT OF THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

Background

"Every child must have the best education our Nation can provide," the President said in his 1965 state of the Union address.

Poverty paralyzes efforts to bring proper educational services and facilities within the reach of all the Nation's children. Left unchecked, poverty's adverse effects become chronic and contagious, often leading to delinquency and crime.

Two-thirds of the families whose head has fewer than 9 years of education are in poverty. Of those youths aged 18 to 24 with an eighth-grade education or less, 20 percent are unemployed. In the Nation as a whole in 1960, there were 2.3 million school-age children living in families earning less than \$1,000 annually; 5 million children living in families earning less than \$2,000 a year.

In the slums, the schools are overcrowded; many are obsolete and unsafe. At least 30 percent of our schoolchildren go to school in classes averaging 30 or more pupils. In remote rural areas, schools often offer inadequate programs in inadequate facilities.

Of the 1.7 million classrooms now operating, nearly one-third were opened prior to 1930 and have since fallen far below acceptable standards. In some of our city slums, about half of all classrooms are at least 50 years old; many are still not fireproof.

Despite a massive effort on the part of our major cities, they generally spend only two-thirds as much per pupil as their suburbs. Up to one-third of the children in these cities are culturally and economically deprived, and from their number stem about 80 percent of all dropouts.

The disadvantaged child is a year behind in mastering school work by the time he reaches the third grade and up to 3 years behind if he reaches the eighth. Research shows that culturally disadvantaged children have only 1 chance in 1,000 to acquire effective learning habits without the benefit of special preschool orientation. This points to the need for services and facilities in behalf of deprived youngsters.

Over the 1963-73 period, public elementary school enrollments are expected to climb from 29.4 million to 32.1 million, an increase of 9 percent. Meanwhile, in nonpublic elementary schools, the estimated rise is from 5.4 million to 5.9 million, also a 9-percent increase. Public secondary school enrollments will go from 10.9 million to an anticipated 14.2 million, up 30 percent; and the nonpublic secondary school enrollments are expected to rise by 38 percent, from 1.3 million to 1.8 million.

Since 1946, State and local bonded indebtedness has risen approximately 450 percent, while Federal debt has increased approximately 14 percent. During the same period, State and local taxes have increased approximately 340 percent, while Federal taxes increased approximately 140 percent—before the 1964 Federal tax cut. Quality education requires increased Federal aid.

Few educational agencies have the resources to rehabilitate the victims of poverty or to provide educational programs that will adequately meet the needs of the greatly increased school-age population.

Proposal

Title I adds a 3-year program to Public Law 874 (school assistance for local educational agencies in areas affected by Federal activity) which is designed to encourage and support the establishment, expansion, and improvement of special programs, including the construction of minimum school facilities where needed, to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children of low-income families.

Public schools would be eligible for payments for programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children in school attendance areas having high concentrations of disadvantaged children. In these areas, the school district would design special educational services and arrangements, including those in which all children in need of such services could participate without full-time public school attendance. These special programs might include dual enrollment (shared services) arrangements, educational radio and television, mobile educational services, remedial education, preschool or afterschool programs, additional instructional personnel, equipment and facilities, and others judged necessary for improving the education of disadvantaged children.

Local educational agencies in a given county would be eligible for payments equal to one-half the average per pupil expenditure in that State multiplied by the number of children in that county (aged 5 to 17) in families having an annual income of less than \$2,000.

Children in low-income families in selected States and counties

State and county	Children (aged 5 to 17) in families with less than \$2,000 annual income	Percentage of total children (aged 5 to 17)	Federal payment
Alabama	226,700	25	\$31,738,000
Montgomery	8,311	19	1,163,540
Arkansas	139,702	29	21,095,002
Cleburne	1,176	51	177,576
California	227,007	6	60,137,510
Los Angeles	80,545	6	21,344,425
Florida	143,795	13	27,896,230
Dade (Miami)	22,519	11	4,368,686
Illinois	155,694	7	37,288,765
Cook (Chicago)	57,054	5	13,664,433
Kentucky	188,101	24	28,215,150
Metcalfe	1,132	56	169,800
Maryland	56,202	7	13,741,401
Baltimore City	20,902	10	5,110,540
Mississippi	232,603	37	28,028,704
Tunica	2,965	54	357,283
New Mexico	37,998	14	8,351,640
Sierra	622	50	136,840
New York	213,201	6	75,127,295
Erie (Buffalo)	12,432	5	4,382,280
Oregon	25,399	6	6,853,177
Multnomah (Portland)	6,291	5	1,726,880
Tennessee	213,694	23	31,092,525
Hancock	1,155	51	168,053
Texas	386,599	16	74,580,048
Comanche	1,189	49	230,072

The State educational agency would be responsible for distribution of the allotments within the State based on its approval of plans for special programs submitted by the local school districts. However, upon approval of their plans, the school districts in any given county would receive the total amount for which that county would be eligible under the distribution. In multidistrict counties, the total amount for the county would be allocated by the State agency among the districts.

Federal funds made available under this title would be used essentially for improving the education of educationally deprived students, not for the general educational programs of the schools. State and local educational effort must also be maintained and, if possible, increased as a condition of receiving these funds.

Special educational efforts directed to those at the lower end of the economic spectrum will have a salutary effect on the entire educational system and will broaden the range of educational opportunity available to all children. School districts in approximately 95 percent of the Nation's 3,100 counties would be eligible for these poverty-linked funds.

First year authorization would be approximately \$1 billion.

TITLE II—SCHOOL LIBRARY RESOURCES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

Background

At all levels of education, teaching programs have become increasingly dependent upon a well-stocked library, the services of a professional librarian, and up-to-date textbooks. Basic courses in nearly all academic subjects, as well as the most advanced courses, are dependent on libraries and instructional materials. That dependence will grow.

The great majority of our public schools do not have adequate library resources. In many schools, there is an average of less than one-half book per child and some cities spend less than 15 cents a year per child for library books. Today more than two out of every three public elementary schools have no libraries at all and more than 8 out of 10 lack trained librarians. The current public school levels of 6.2 library books per pupil and \$2.28 annual expenditure for books per pupil are well below the recommended professional

standards of 10 books and \$4 to \$6 annual expenditure for books per pupil.

To meet the accepted minimum standards for cities with populations above 500,000, there is a need for a fourfold increase in current expenditures for school library materials. The cost of books is up 82 percent since 1948. Using the base period 1957-59, the cost of books has risen more than a third while wholesale prices remained constant and consumer prices rose less than 7 percent. This naturally works the greatest hardship on poor school districts.

Textbook sales in the Nation in 1963 amounted to \$293 million, or only \$6.11 per student. In some States, as much as \$12.32 was spent per student; in others as little as \$4.76. A single modern, hardbound textbook in many subjects often costs as much or more than the entire year's budget for new instructional books. Moreover, a fourth of all the Nation's public high school systems do not provide free textbooks and it has been stated that high textbook fees are one of the reasons for the school dropout problem.

A new instructional development is the increased use of programmed learning textbooks. From 1962 to 1963, programmed texts increased from 122 to 352, over half in science and mathematics. But these new materials are expensive; they average \$10 to \$15 each, thus constituting a barrier to their adoption in all but the wealthier school districts.

Proposal

Title II provides for a 5-year program to make available for the use of schoolchildren school library resources and other printed and published instructional materials including textbooks essential to improved educational quality in the schools of the Nation.

A State plan would provide for a method of making available books, periodicals, documents, magnetic tapes, phonograph records and other printed and published materials for the use of all schoolchildren in the State.

Materials purchased with Federal funds would not be used for sectarian instruction or religious worship and when made available for the use of students in nonpublic schools would be the same as those used or approved for use in the public schools of the State. In those States legally unable to provide materials for students in nonpublic schools, the Commissioner of Education would make available to such children those materials used in the public schools of the State.

Funds would be allotted to the 50 States, District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands on the basis of the number of children enrolled in public and nonprofit private elementary and secondary schools in each State or territory. The previous level of non-Federal support for these materials would be maintained and, if possible, increased.

First year authorization would be \$100 million.

TITLE III—SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL CENTERS AND SERVICES

Background

While the problems existing in school districts impacted by poverty are particularly acute, there are also chronic limitations in elementary and secondary schools throughout the Nation regardless of the level of community wealth. A fundamental weakness is the uneven distribution and inconsistent quality of educational, scientific, and cultural resources presently available.

Among the variety of supplementary services that make the difference between a poor school and a good school are special instruction in science, languages, music, and the arts; counseling and guidance; health and social work; and access to such resources as technical institutes, museums, art galleries, and theaters. In these respects there are many unmet needs.

Today less than one-quarter of our elementary schools have the services of a guidance counselor one or more days a week. More than 3 million elementary school children are estimated to be in need of social work or psychological services. At present, however, there are only about 3,000 school social workers on the staffs of the public schools; most school systems cannot afford to hire them. Although surveys show that today 7 to 14 percent of schoolchildren have significant emotional problems, more than 9 out of 10 school systems have no special programs for these children and are unable to deal with them effectively through their regular programs.

Reforms and improvements in science and language instruction appear in uneven quality throughout the country. In only 10 States do all secondary schools have science laboratory facilities. Science specialists generally agree that modern science cannot be taught properly without laboratories for teacher and student experimentations. Moreover, less than 30 percent of public secondary schools now have language laboratories available.

By 1968 at least 25,000 additional science laboratories will be needed in elementary schools to meet increases in enrollments—a 500-percent increase. At least 40,000 additional labs will be needed in the high schools, almost a 100-percent increase. Just to keep pace with growth, by 1968 elementary schools will need 8,000 additional language laboratories and high schools will need at least 20,000 more such labs. Centralized laboratory facilities serving a number of schools and systems are one of the answers to meeting this need where individual labs cannot be provided.

Although educational research is demonstrating the increased capability and advantages of early school experiences, about one-half of the Nation's 26,000 school districts today maintain schools without kindergartens, and in only one school district out of 260 is a nursery school available.

At a time of greatly accelerating needs, the Nation's educational structure is weakened both by the lack of these special programs and staffs within the schools and by the frequent insulation of students from the cultural, social, and scientific life of the community. Enrichment of the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools through supplementary services is essential to the total strength of education.

Proposal

Title III proposes a 5-year program to provide vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality in elementary and secondary schools and to develop and establish exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs. Special personnel, equipment, and other costly educational services not normally available in most schools would be made available for the widest possible participation of the entire community.

Grants would be made to a supplementary educational center and services organization created to establish and coordinate a program of supplementary educational services. Funds would be made available on the basis of an application reviewed by the State educational agency and approved by the Commissioner of Education. The governing board of the organization would include representatives of the agencies and institutions participating in the conduct of the program. The participants would include at least one local educational agency and one or more of the following: Institutions of higher education, State educational agencies, public agencies such as health and welfare units, and private nonprofit agencies including nonpublic schools, museums, art galleries, educational television stations, and other cultural organizations.

Federal funds would be used for planning, pilot projects, and the establishment and operation of programs offering a diverse range of educational experience to children and adults of varying talents and needs. Programs might include guidance and counseling; remedial instruction; school health, psychological and social work services; enriched academic programs; afterschool study halls; continuing adult education; dual enrollment (shared services); specialized instruction and equipment; specially qualified personnel (including artists and musicians) on a temporary or other basis; educational radio and television programs; special educational services for persons in isolated rural areas; and other specially designed educational programs. Grants could also be used for the lease or construction of necessary facilities.

Children attending nonpublic as well as public schools and out-of-school youth and adults would have the opportunity to receive the services and participate in these educational and cultural activities.

An Advisory Committee on Supplementary Educational Centers and Services would advise the Commissioner on the action to be taken on each application for a grant.

Initially, American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands would each receive \$50,000. The 50 States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico would each receive \$200,000. The remainder of the funds would be distributed among the States and territories on the basis of (1) the number of children aged 5 to 17 and (2) the total population of each jurisdiction.

The first-year authorization would be \$100 million.

TITLE IV—EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING; AMENDMENTS TO THE COOPERATIVE RESEARCH ACT OF 1954

Background

Eleven years ago Congress authorized the Commissioner of Education to enter into contracts or jointly financed cooperative arrangements with colleges, universities, and State educational agencies to conduct research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education. The program that has subsequently emerged from this decade of experience has two basic purposes: (1) To develop new knowledge about education, and (2) to develop new ways of applying existing knowledge.

Significant progress has been made in educational research. For example:

Programs have been developed to guide elementary pupils in "discovering" the basic concepts of modern mathematics; results are so encouraging that many school systems throughout the country are adopting these methods.

Two-year-old children have been taught to read—and to read well—in experimental programs that stimulate their curiosity and intellectual drive.

Grade school pupils have been successfully taught college-level economics, indicating that curriculum evaluation and research are necessities at all levels.

A New Jersey study of the education of migrant children points to new and more fruitful directions for handling a problem that plagues most of our States.

A total of about \$16 million is being spent in fiscal year 1965 on cooperative research. Some 280 projects are involved. This is, however, a small answer to a great need. Only \$3 of every \$1,000 of Federal expenditures for research and development were devoted to education in 1964.

Education, with a total annual expenditure of about \$34 billion is the Nation's number one industry. Yet we spend only \$72 million—one-fifth of 1 percent of our total educational outlays—for research and development in this vital field. By contrast, we

spend \$8 billion annually for research and development on our Nation's defenses. Many progressive private industries invest as much as 10 percent of their total annual expenditures for research and development.

To carry out research is to assume the obligation of disseminating the findings, so that education as a whole may benefit. In medicine the average lag between research and its application is estimated at 2 years. In education, the process often takes 30 years or more. The record on education in publishing research findings has not been satisfactory. To help in finding a solution to this problem, pilot research and development centers have been established at a cost in 1965 of about \$1,900,000—at the Universities of Pittsburgh, Oregon, Wisconsin and at Harvard University.

Each of these centers will conduct activities stretching across the research and development spectrum, including basic research, development of educational procedures and materials, field testing, and demonstration and dissemination. At the University of Pittsburgh, where the first center was established, significant results are being obtained. In one project, for example, courses of study have been tailored to fit the needs of the individual learner; in another, new educational devices are employed to motivate preschool children to read.

Such educational research and its dissemination help the schools and colleges of the Nation to carry on educational programs more efficiently, more effectively, and with greater economy of resources. But a mere four centers, with all their promise, cannot serve the needs of 26,000 school districts and a tenth as many institutions of higher learning. Other regions of the country and many other segments of education need assistance in the form of new research and development programs.

Proposal

Title IV would amend the Cooperative Research Act of 1954 (Public Law 83-531) by authorizing the training of research personnel and improved dissemination of information derived from educational research and development. Authority would be granted to utilize the research competence of research organizations not now eligible to contribute to the program, such as private noncollegiate research organizations and professional associations. In addition, the program would provide for the construction and operation of centers to improve the quality of teaching in our schools and for the purchase of research equipment.

Together, these amendments would permit the continued growth of educational research programs in the United States and an accelerated funding of research and development centers or regional educational laboratories. The goal: a national network of federally supported but State- and university-operated research centers.

Regional educational laboratories offer a promising way of meeting problems of research, development, and dissemination. They will help to train teachers and improve curriculums. They will draw equally upon educators and the practitioners in all the fields of learning—mathematicians, scientists, humanists, historians, economists, social scientists, linguists, musicians, artists, and writers.

These laboratories will have close ties with the State departments of education. They will also work directly with the schools and supplementary education centers in order to bring innovation directly to the student. They will train teachers as well as those who teach teachers.

First-year cost of these amendments would be \$45 million, in addition to the regular cooperative research budget of \$25 million in fiscal year 1966.

TITLE V—STRENGTHENING STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Background

The immediate responsibility for providing professional counsel and direction to the schools lies with the various State departments of education. At the very time that demand for this kind of counsel and direction is on the increase, the ability of the State departments to respond is inadequate. The necessity of meeting school operating costs, of spending what it takes to keep sufficient classrooms available, exerts increasing pressure on the share of the school dollar made available to State departments of education. Moreover, the responsibility of ensuring the wise and proper use of Federal funds dispensed in a variety of Federal-State cooperative programs generally rests squarely with State educational agencies.

The States vary greatly in their educational expenditures. Some States spend barely \$200,000 a year for State educational leadership, while others spend more than 70 times that amount. Some States employ 500 professional educators; other States, as few as 35. Professionals to oversee school library services are lacking altogether in one-third of the State departments of education, while only 11 States have consultants in school social work. Moreover, during the past 5 years there has been a 40-percent turnover in State supervisory personnel; the majority have gone into better paying positions at the local level and in colleges and universities.

The department of education in a typical, middle-income State has 75 professional staff members available to serve as consultants to 20,000 school people—superintendents, principals, teachers, and others. On the average, these professionals are able to visit the State's schools for only one-half day each 7 years. Demands on the education budget are such in this State that no likelihood is foreseen in the ability of its department of education to improve its services.

If the States are to be strengthened and American education kept both strong and decentralized, measures are needed to bolster the administrative and legal foundations of our educational system.

Proposal

Title V proposes a 5-year program to stimulate and assist in strengthening the leadership resources of State educational agencies. The State educational agency would identify educational needs of the State and design programs to meet these needs.

Programs and activities might include long-range educational planning; improved collecting, processing, and analyzing of educational data (including use of automated data systems); conducting, sponsoring, or cooperating in educational research; developing the competency of individuals who serve State or local educational agencies and provide leadership, administrative or specialist services; cooperation with institutions of higher education and local educational agencies to improve the quality of teacher preparation, including student teaching; and other special needs of State departments of education.

Eighty-five percent of the funds appropriated would be apportioned as follows: \$50,000 each to Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands and \$100,000 to each of the States, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The remainder of the 85 percent would be apportioned among the States and territories based on the number of public school pupils. State agencies would apply to the Commissioner for a grant or grants for part of the costs of their proposal. The Commissioner would approve applications if he determined that the proposal would be within the purposes of the law.

Fifteen percent of the funds appropriated would be reserved to the Commissioner to make special grants for research and demonstrations and for the establishment of special services which promise to help solve educational problems common to all for several of the State educational agencies.

First-year authorization would be \$10 million.

A second part of title V would permit an interchange of personnel between States and the Office of Education for cooperative educational activities and technical and other assistance which would assist in the strengthening of American education.

FAIR SHARE EDUCATION—EVERY SCHOLAR AN EQUAL DOLLAR

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the President's message on education is a call for the 89th Congress to continue along the path of educational excellence which we traveled so well in the 88th Congress. It is not only a call to continue but to accelerate and escalate.

It would be premature for me to comment on the context of the message or to evaluate the details of the Department program.

However, I do note that a piece of legislation which I have been advocating for some time is included in substantial form in the program.

I refer to my bill, H.R. 13, which I introduced on January 4, the first day of this Congress. This bill would provide for textbooks in critical subject matter areas for all children in all schools.

I view this as a logical extension of categorical assistance to elementary and secondary education and I submit that better books, more modern texts are indispensable to better education.

It is gratifying to note that the President is recommending greater support for this school lending library approach to the Congress.

I have made a number of addresses on this subject to educational groups throughout the country in the past year.

Speaking to the Publications Conference, held at Fordham University on October 3, 1964, I made specific recommendations on:

First. Amendment of the National Defense Education Act to authorize grants to all schools for mechanical facilities in critical subject matter areas.

Second. Support for book loan programs in these same stress areas for all children in all schools.

I include the text of my address on this subject at this point:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HUGH L. CAREY, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, TO THE PUBLICATIONS CONFERENCE AT FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, N.Y., OCTOBER 3, 1964

I have been serving on the House Education Committee during the 88th Congress which has made more legislative educational progress in pursuit of scholastic excellence than

any other in history. For that reason I believe you and I are full partners in the search and spread of truth, understanding, wisdom and justice in the era of the educated man.

It is a summons to full participation in the era of equality and justice in the education that I serve upon you now.

You are here as a highly representative segment of the 900,000 students who receive your education in nonpublic schools in this State. You have an attribute which Benjamin Bradlee ascribed to our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, as "that special grace of intellect." Recognizing that attribute I call upon you as editors and writers to use that grace to advance the cause of great freedoms that must thrive in education in order that we may survive as a free and godly nation.

These freedoms exist in the hierarchy of liberty which is anterior to government and most precious to the dignity of the human person.

We possess and must preserve freedom to know, not only all that is secular but freedom to know God without the sanction of the state.

We possess and must preserve freedom of conscience, free from the totalitarian conformity of state monopoly in education.

We possess and must preserve freedom of choice in education which is the key to cultural diversity and pluralism in the free society at home and in the free world.

I say that these freedoms can exist and extend only if 900,000 students in this State and the 7 million students in this country who attend private schools fully participate in opportunities for educational excellence on equal terms with all other Americans.

The record of the 88th Congress is a testament that this can be done not only under our Constitution but in support of the cardinal constitutional principles of equality, freedom of choice, freedom of conscience and freedom to know.

Extensive hearings, intensive study, open debate and fastidious draftsmanship produced these great laws in the education Congress to give substance to that testament:

1. The Higher Education Facilities Act in which Fordham and St. John's will participate with the city and State universities in the first grant and loan program for college construction.

2. The Health and Nursing Professions Acts in which Georgetown, St. Vincent's, and Yeshiva will share on equal terms with State medical schools in a direct grant program for the healing arts.

3. The Economic Assistance Act—or Anti-poverty Act—in which student work study programs and aid to educationally disadvantaged individuals will enable us to break the sequence that poverty begets ignorance and ignorance begets poverty.

The spirit of Thomas Jefferson is in these acts for it was he who said:

"If you expect a people to be ignorant and free you expect what never was and never will be."

And the spirit of Jefferson, the great friend to higher education, was advanced in the National Defense Education Act which we passed for the President's signature only 2 days ago.

This act increased fellowships for graduate study sevenfold, adjusted the imbalanced incentive forgiveness between public and private schoolteachers, and extended quality education institutes to all education for the benefit of all children in all schools.

And if we must mention separation of church and state when we mention Jefferson let it be said here and now, we not only preserved the principle of separation but, by its true and constructive application, advanced education for all Americans, proving that

when fairminded men and women legislate, fairness can prevail.

In doing so we set guidelines and laid down these principles that will aid lawmakers in the balance of this century of knowledgeable man to meet our educational needs with equality, justice, and freedom.

The first principle is that aid to the individual is distinguishable from aid to institutions. Therefore, while the state may not give direct economic support to the church and the church has no wish to interfere in the secular functions of the state, there is no law which precludes the state from assisting a student because he is also the beneficiary of assistance from a church. We recognized that as an individual he is a citizen of one and a member of the other and both have a common interest in his mental and moral development.

Specifically, in the tradition of the GI bill, this principle is identified in fellowship, scholarship, and student loan and loan forgiveness titles; in quality institutes for individual teachers and work study and remedial education aid to low-income individuals, in the poverty bill.

The second principle that is educationally sound and constitutionally permissible to give selective aid to specific secular categories to public and private institutions with precise safeguards and appropriate delineations.

This second principle is exemplified in the Higher Education Facilities Act where we provided matching grant funds for the construction of classroom and other buildings in the categories of science, languages, mathematics, and libraries, in similar provisions in the Health Professions and Nursing Act, and even in the new milestone legislation of the Mental Retardation Act.

Most importantly, there are enacted new directions in the National Defense Education Act providing for audiovisual and mechanical facilities, maps, globes, and other teaching materials in the categories of geography, civics, history, English, and reading.

Federal support equal to about \$1.50 per child in elementary and secondary schools is provided in this program through grants to public schools and loans to private schools. This is the area where I seek your help today.

I want to change this to a grant program for all schools and I believe I will have the support of my colleagues in the committee in doing so. A loan is a limited grant of credit and full grants can be justified since 7 million children in private schools are required by the State to know just as much about civics, history, English, geography, and mathematics as are the children in the State schools.

I want to raise the ante from \$1.50 per child in this \$100 million program to \$15 per child for every school child in America, by the addition of a major new category of assistance.

This category of assistance is in the field of your special interest—publications for education.

I plan to introduce legislation to authorize the Federal Government to assist State educational agencies in the development, publication, and distribution of textbooks, research works, manuals, and teaching aids to be made available to all children in all schools in such categories of secular subject matter and as are now covered in the National Defense Education Act.

These textbooks would be chosen by State boards whose membership would be broadly comprehensive of all the educational interests in the State, public and private.

These textbooks would remain the property of the State and be on loan to the students in all schools which choose to use them exactly as are the books in our public libraries today.

The Federal Government would have no authority or participation in the selection of texts, preserving the principle of local and parental control in education.

The Federal textbook assistance program would be optional with the States who would participate on a voluntary basis only, based upon State educational policy.

This program would encourage other States to initiate programs for equality in educational excellence such as those which have already been enacted in Rhode Island and Louisiana.

To finance the program I would suggest a figure of exactly \$651 million. I chose the amount because this is precisely the total that the Federal Government is currently spending on aid to education through publication support which does not directly aid our elementary and secondary schoolchildren, public or private.

In fact, this Government subsidy of publications for education in some cases is actually an educational and moral detriment to the minor child.

The aid to publications program curiously is not in the Office of Education but in the Postmaster General's Office. I refer to the fact that since 1879 postal subsidies specially designed by intent of Congress to assist in the education of the American people by encouraging the wide dissemination of reading matter have been in effect in our country and they now amount to \$651 million.

If we can justify, and I do justify the expenditure of that sum for aid to publications to those not involved in formal education, surely we can make out a good case, in justice and logic for similar aid to those who not only need but are required to have school books.

The record speaks for itself, category by category. Since 1939, through the fourth-class subsidy, books, texts, library materials, and phonograph records have been subsidized in distribution to the extent of \$651 million. I say here and now that I am not "anti-Beatle," but the Beatle records are distributed through subsidized fourth-class privilege. If we can subsidize the Beatles but not textbooks in biology, where is the justice in this?

Since 1890 newspapers and magazines considered as educational matter have enjoyed a second-class subsidy, which amounts to \$300 million. This extends from the secular press to the religious newspapers, from the New York Times to the Christian Science Monitor and even to the antireligious and the extremist publications.

If we can subsidize the Police Gazette—or 50 pages of trash—but not a textbook on English, where is the justice of that?

Since 1879 we have subsidized bulk mailing of circulars, catalogs and advertisements under the third-class privilege which amounts to \$300 million, as an inducement to the migration of knowledge through reading of anything on the printed page. Under this subsidy we encourage everything from instant beauty aids to surplus elephants, whether the public wants them or not. In fact, through this privilege comes most of the "come-on" circulars for pornography and perversion. If we can subsidize borderline obscenity or Lydia Pinkham's Compound but not a textbook on geography, mathematics, or civics, where is the justice in that?

I believe that with the knowledge explosion before us and the intellectual and cultural craving of 65 million young students willing and anxious to be served we can and must provide publications and new teaching materials for all Americans.

No people, no nation, no generation ever had the opportunity for the bold, the new, the dynamic advance in education you have now. But we must make a commitment and an investment to take advantage of that opportunity.

It will avail us little if a few of the highly trained and highly skilled soar in space while the masses below sink in culture and knowledge.

We have the means and the minds to make the printed page, the projector, the electronic teaching machine bring us to a new plane of understanding in all the sciences and in all the humanities.

With these means and minds before us we must not be a dog-eared society cramped within the covers of outworn texts and backward books.

Dr. Zacharias and 50 of our country's greatest physicists are developing a totally new course of instruction in physics which will make old methods as modern as the crystal radio. Will their work be available to all or the fortunate few?

Sister Jacqueline, the great president of Webster Grove College is working with Syracuse University in the development of a new system of mathematics instruction, teaching high school mathematics to grade school children.

Will this work be available to all or the fortunate few?

The answer is up to you.

You are the leaders on campus and you will be the leaders in the community. You are the doers of the word, the voices of truth and the propagandists for progress.

You owe a great commitment to education for what it has given you.

You owe a great commitment to private education for preserving the great freedoms it stands for.

You owe your Creator and your country a commitment to organize, to discuss, to debate, and to resolve the great questions in education so that we can continue to make the kind of progress we made in the 88th Congress.

Through your journals and your yearbooks and your activities in the community, I summon you to aid us, all of us, in advancing the cause of freedom of choice, of conscience, of knowledge, through educational excellence for all Americans.

In the words of our late President, John F. Kennedy before Congress in 1961:

"May we be worthy of the unlimited opportunities which God has given us."

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my bill, H.R. 13 in full at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 13

A bill to authorize the Commissioner of Education to make available to students in all elementary and secondary schools textbooks selected by such schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Children's Educational Assistance Act of 1965".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this title to authorize a four-year program of financial assistance in the improvement of educational quality for all elementary and secondary schoolchildren in all of the States.

It is the intent of Congress that the Federal Government recognize its continuing responsibility to assist in the achievement of educational excellence and the elimination of inequalities and disadvantage for every American child. In the fulfillment of that responsibility the Congress further intends that there be no distinction or discrimination among the children of this Nation in the distribution of educational benefits in order that every child may be enabled to acquire knowledge to the full extent of his or her capacity.

To that end it is the purpose of this bill to extend the span and depth of knowledge among all students by providing funds for

modern and effective texts and teaching materials and instructional aids.

In order to achieve equality of educational opportunities to the greatest possible degree the Congress intends that the Commissioner of Education provide such criteria as are necessary to give priority in the use of moneys under the title to those children most in need, handicapped or otherwise disadvantaged.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 3. (a) The Commissioner of Education (hereinafter referred to as the "Commissioner") shall carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, a program for making textbooks in certain critical subject areas available on a loan basis to students in public and private elementary and secondary schools in accordance with this Act; the selection of such textbooks to be made by the appropriate educational agency.

(b) For the purpose of making grants under this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$650,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and each of the three succeeding fiscal years, only such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 4. (a) Funds appropriated pursuant to section 101 for any fiscal year shall be allotted among the States so that the allotment to each State will be an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount so appropriated as the number of students enrolled in grades 1 to 12 (both inclusive) of elementary and secondary schools in such State bears to the total number of students enrolled in such grades in such schools in all of the States. Determination of the number of students in such schools in a State and in all the States shall be made by the Commissioner on the basis of data for the most recent year for which satisfactory data with respect thereto are available to him.

(b) The amount of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for any fiscal year which the Commissioner determines will not be required for such fiscal year for carrying out the State plan (if any) approved under this Act shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such year as the Commissioner may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such other States under such subsection for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum the Commissioner estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such year for carrying out the State plan; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts were not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

STATE COMMISSIONS AND PLANS

SEC. 5. (a) Each State which desires to have students in all elementary and secondary schools in the State receive textbooks on a loan basis under this Act shall designate an existing State agency which is broadly representative of the public and of educational agencies in the State, or, if no such State agency exists, shall establish such a State agency, and submit to the Commissioner through the agency so designated or established (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "State commission"), a State plan for its participation in the textbook program provided for in this Act. The Commissioner shall approve any such plan which—

(1) provides that it shall be administered by the State commission;

(2) provides that it will receive applications from educational agencies under this Act and assign them a priority for approval relative to other applications received by it;

(3) provides for affording to every applicant, which has submitted an application to the State commission, an opportunity for a fair hearing before the State commission as to the priority assigned to such application; and

(4) provides (A) for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of an accounting for Federal funds paid to the State commission under this Act; and (B) for the making of such reports in such form and containing such information, as may be reasonably necessary to enable the Commissioner to perform his functions under this Act.

(b) The Commissioner is authorized to expend not exceeding \$1,000,000 during each fiscal year of the program under this Act in such amounts as he may consider necessary for the proper and efficient administration of the State plans approved under this Act, including expenses which he determines were necessary for the preparation of such plans.

BASIC CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING PRIORITIES AND AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 6. (a) As soon as practicable after the enactment of this Act the Commissioner shall by regulation prescribe basic criteria to which the provisions of State plans setting forth standards and methods for assigning to applications their relative priorities for approval, and the application of such standards and methods to such agencies under such plans, shall be subject. Such basic criteria shall be such as will best tend to achieve the objectives of this Act while leaving opportunity and flexibility for the development of State plans, standards, and methods that will best accommodate the varied needs of educational agencies in the several States. Subject to the foregoing requirements, such regulations may establish additional and appropriate basic criteria, including provision for considering the degree to which applicant educational agencies are making an effort commensurate with their financial resources toward meeting their textbook needs, and for allowing State plans to group or provide for grouping, in a reasonable manner, educational agencies according to functional or educational type.

(b) Section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act shall apply to the prescription regulations under this section, notwithstanding the provisions of clause (2) thereof.

APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS AND CONDITIONS FOR APPROVAL

SEC. 7. (a) Each educational agency which desires to obtain textbooks suitable for use in providing education in science, mathematics, history, civics, geography, modern foreign language, English, or reading from the Commissioner for use by its students, on a loan basis, shall submit an application therefor to the Commissioner. Each such application must (1) have been assigned a relative priority for approval by the appropriate educational agency, (2) specify the textbooks to be made available by the Commissioner and the estimated cost of providing such textbooks, and (3) be in such form and contain such additional information as the Commissioner may prescribe by regulation.

(b) The Commissioner shall approve any application submitted by an educational agency if (1) it meets the requirements of this Act, and regulations issued pursuant thereto, (2) the application has been assigned a priority for approval by the State commission higher than that assigned any other application, and (3) there are sufficient funds available in the applicable State allot-

ment to meet the costs which the Commissioner determines would arise if the application were approved.

(c) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Commissioner may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulation, be subject to approval in the same manner as original applications.

TEXTBOOK PROGRAM

SEC. 8. (a) When the Commissioner approves an application under this Act, he shall proceed to acquire the textbooks suitable for use in providing education in science, mathematics, history, civics, geography, modern foreign language, English, or reading provided for in the application, if sufficient numbers thereof are not otherwise available. The textbooks provided for under the application shall be made available to the applicant educational agency which shall distribute them to students as provided in the application. Such textbooks shall at all times remain the property of the United States.

(b) The Commissioner shall make appropriate regulations to assure that textbooks made available under this Act are used in accordance with the provisions of this Act and regulations issued thereunder throughout their useful life, or returned to the Commissioner.

ADMINISTRATION OF STATE PLANS

SEC. 9. (a) The Commissioner shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this Act, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State commission submitting the plan reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

(b) Whenever the Commissioner, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State commission administering a State plan approved under this Act, finds—

(1) that the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 4(a), or

(2) that in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Commission shall notify such State commission that the State will not be regarded as eligible to participate in the program under this Act until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure to comply.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 9. For the purposes of this Act—

(a) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa, and trust territories of the Pacific Islands.

(b) The term "elementary or secondary school" means any public or nonpublic school providing elementary or secondary education, which satisfies the compulsory education law of the State or which is accredited or approved under State law.

(c) The term "public" as applied to a school does not include a school of any agency of the United States.

(d) The term "educational agency" means a public or other school authority having administrative control and direction of one or more schools in a State.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 10. (a) The Commissioner may delegate any of his functions under this Act, except the making of regulations, to any officer or employee of the Office of Education.

(b) In administering the provisions of this Act, the Commissioner is authorized to utilize services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon.

(c) The Commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, may appoint one or more advisory committees to advise and consult with the Commissioner with respect to the administration of his functions under this Act. Members of any such committee, while attending conferences or meetings of the committee, shall be entitled to receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare but not to exceed \$75 per diem, and while away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

ADMINISTRATIVE APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 11. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as may be necessary for the cost of administering the provisions of this Act.

FEDERAL CONTROL NOT AUTHORIZED

SEC. 12. (a) No department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall, under authority of this Act, exercise any direction, supervision, or control over, or impose any requirement or conditions with respect to, the personnel, curriculum, methods of instruction, or administration of any educational agency or institution.

(b) Neither the Commissioner nor any State commission shall attempt to affect the selection of by educational agencies of textbooks to be made available under this Act.

NATIONAL DIVIDENDS FROM A NUCLEAR NAVY

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include an article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, the January 1965 edition of Navy—the magazine of seapower—contains an excellent article by our colleague the gentleman from Tennessee, the Honorable WILLIAM R. ANDERSON. The article is entitled "The National Dividends From a Nuclear Navy."

I am sure that all of us are aware of the fact that Representative ANDERSON commanded the submarine *Nautilus* when it made its dramatic voyage from Pearl Harbor to London via the North Pole and thence to New York, between July 23 and August 25, 1958. In this brief and searching article, Representative ANDERSON points to the great dividends which have and will come from the nuclear program, as the Nation takes stock on the 10th anniversary of nuclear propulsion.

Mr. Speaker, we appreciate our new colleague from Tennessee not alone for his prowess on the high seas, but because of his deep and sensitive interest in issues which concern all Americans. As a West Virginian, I personally wish to pay tribute to him for the pioneer work which he did in blazing the trail for what is now known as the VISTA program—Volunteers in Service to America—under the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The article referred to follows:

THE NATIONAL DIVIDENDS FROM A NUCLEAR NAVY

(By Representative WILLIAM R. ANDERSON)

A few years ago a Navy surgeon mentioned to Vice Admiral Rickover the need for a great deal more knowledge regarding the chemistry of the human body. The physician cited as an example the behavior of stainless steel pins when used for bone repairs. Apparently such pins last indefinitely in some cases, while in others the surgeon must reoperate and replace them after just a few years. The pins corrode away.

Admiral Rickover inquired as to the specifications used in purchasing the pins, having learned long before that the difference in performance among various grades and types of stainless steel can be remarkable. Now, thanks to Navy nuclear power and its stringent requirements for extremely durable stainless steel, you can count on your steel pins lasting longer, if unfortunately you have to have some bones put back together this way.

Technical developments made for military purposes more often than not result in important side benefits to our economy, national stature, and well-being. How remarkably this has been true in the aircraft field, where most features of commercial aviation can be traced back to military drawing boards and conference tables. Certainly, it is also true in the Navy nuclear propulsion program and perhaps it is appropriate that we appraise the matter on this 10th anniversary of the operating end of that program.

RESOURCEFUL ENGINEERING

Just as a new business or new factory tends to beget another, developments in one area of engineering often provide an uplifting in other areas of engineering. To develop the *Nautilus* powerplant, Admiral Rickover and his team had to solve many unprecedented problems. Engineers and manufacturers who had thought in terms of tolerances measured in thousandths of an inch had to start dealing with millionths. Quality control had to be pushed to a new and much higher plateau. In many instances new materials and fabrication processes had to be developed. For example, zirconium, an exotic metal and a laboratory curiosity prior to the *Nautilus* development, had to be called on for the cladding of reactor fuel plates. Today zirconium forms the basis for a booming industry of vital importance to the entire nuclear energy program.

The approach to the problems of developing naval reactors will, I believe, prove to be as significant as the solutions so successfully gained. Resourceful and honest engineering has been and remains the hallmark of the nuclear propulsion program—a tidal wave of engineering inspiration and leadership already spilling on many seemingly unrelated beaches. If the wave had but sooner reached the entire field of submarine design, perhaps the *Thresher* would not be at the bottom of the sea.

Thus one very valuable side benefit of the nuclear Navy is the significant uplift provided to other engineering efforts.

Though the methods used to select and train nuclear propulsion crews have not been without controversy, one does find universal agreement that the people who operate and maintain the plants and ships are the very zenith of the program. As they branch out to other duties or to related civilian careers they comprise a continuing prime national asset. (I hasten to emphasize "related civilian careers" to subtract myself from those I describe. There is not much connection between nuclear propulsion duties and politics, but my experience has been that the former sure hasn't hurt me in pursuing the latter.)

PROGRAM'S IMPACT

The Navy nuclear program has had a tremendous impact on most developments relating to the practical and peaceful applications of atomic energy.

Next to the land, the water, and the air, energy is by far the most important of our terrestrial resources. Although our own supply of coal and oil is vast, we are consuming these materials at such a rapidly increasing rate that if not supplemented they will begin to approach exhaustion within the span of a few generations.

Other nations, less fortunately endowed with coal and oil reserves, will face the problem much sooner than the United States. Thus we must pursue a vigorous civilian nuclear power policy not only to satisfy our own needs but to meet our world leadership responsibilities as well.

The *Nautilus* and the nuclear submarines which followed provided the first long step toward these essential goals. The propulsion plants in these ships provided both the fundamental technology and the confidence to undertake the Shippingport plant—this Nation's first nuclear central power station. Every dollar used in developing the Navy's various nuclear plants would have been well spent if the net result were only a safe and successful situation at Shippingport. The investment made in developing Navy nuclear propulsion has produced technology and manufacturing abilities applicable to the complete civilian nuclear power industry.

Since January 17, 1955, the United States has enjoyed a commanding lead over all other nations in the use of nuclear power for ship propulsion and the accompanying benefits to our prestige have been immense. This lead has been dramatized in many ways and my thoughts, when we reached the North Pole in the *Nautilus*, were built around the pride that it was a United States submarine that arrived there first, not a Russian.

SPIN-OFFS

These polar voyages, besides giving a boost to our prestige, have supplied a remarkable increase in our knowledge of the Arctic Ocean. The greatest surprise of the *Nautilus* voyage in 1958 was the revelation of a completely unpredicted underwater plateau which reached up some 8,000 feet from the surrounding ocean floor. I understand that this feature, located about a third of the way between Alaska and the pole, has been determined to be about the size of the State of Connecticut.

The spin-offs from the Navy nuclear program are indeed many and varied.

It is fitting on the 10th anniversary of nuclear propulsion that the Nation take stock of the vast dividends that have come from this program. We can sleep a great deal better at night because of its contribution to our defense posture. We stand a great deal taller as a nation because of its contribution to man's ability to use the atom for his own benefit.

The late Prof. Albert Einstein once said, "If you can utilize the nuclear physical findings for peaceful purposes, it will lead to a new paradise." Distinctly, the Navy nuclear propulsion development brightens the future for mankind.

FPC CONTINUES HARASSMENT

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of last

Sunday carried an excellent article under the heading: "The Kid Gloves Are on Toward Business." It points out that no President, in recent years, has worked as effectively as President Johnson to gain the confidence of the business community. I believe that this is quite true.

I have watched the President over the years and have noted, with great appreciation, how hard he has worked in behalf of all segments of our economy, private enterprise no exception, and how determined he has always been to keep the Government out of business wherever possible.

The Post article mentions the Federal Power Commission and the problem which it poses to the industries with which it is involved. This brings to mind the attitude of the FPC in such matters as investment credit and the determination of that Agency to take away from industry the tax incentives which the Congress intended to give to all industry. We straightened this out after much effort and some rather pointed legislation which said, in effect, that the Congress knows what it is doing and expects Federal bureaus to act accordingly.

Recent actions show the FPC majority to be disregarding a principle of law set forth by a U.S. court of appeals even though no appeal of the court's decision was filed with the Supreme Court. The issue involved who was to receive the congressionally authorized tax incentive resulting from a group of affiliated corporations filing a consolidated tax return. The tax incentive was not consumer contributed but arose from corporate losses having no relation to any regulated enterprise. As intended by Congress the incentive acts as a stimulus to new industry by allowing the investor to reduce the initial losses incurred when starting a new business. In its decision in the Cities Service Gas Co. rate case, the FPC majority decided to ignore congressional intent and gave the investors tax loss savings to the gas consumer. Cities Service was a regulated transportation company while the tax losses resulted from the operations of other companies.

On October 9 of 1964, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit unanimously reversed the Commission's ruling, stating that "the Commission would transgress the jurisdictional lines which Congress wrote into the act." It is reasonable to assume that if the FPC had disagreed with the court's ruling and wish to seek affirmation of its own decision, an appeal would have been taken to the Supreme Court. But no appeal was taken, thus leaving the court's decision as the law of the land, that is, to all but the Federal Power Commission.

Recently, the FPC refused to comply with the principle enunciated by the court. In a rate settlement proceeding involving United Gas Pipe Line Co., the Commission decided to ignore the court's ruling by refusing to settle the tax issue on the basis of the court's decision, obviously hoping to squeeze out a more favorable decision from another court of appeals. Meanwhile, business uncertainty is continued and compounded.

Thus, after years of litigation before the Commission and courts, a bare majority of the FPC still attempts to breathe life into a doctrine repugnant to Congress and rejected by the courts. For over 20 years industry had utilized this tax incentive to venture into new businesses. In 1963, for the first time, a majority of the FPC decided that all prior Commissions had been wrong.

This, to me, would appear to be heckling business and indicates an unwillingness to accept a court decision just as the same agency was so reluctant to accept the mandate of the Congress.

I venture the hope that all Federal agencies and particularly those so directly involved in business affairs will heed the President's often demonstrated desire, and help rather than harass private enterprise. The results of the President's friendly attitude are already bearing fruit and they should be encouraged rather than hampered.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving social security benefits.

There never has been any ceiling on the amount of investment income a person can have and still receive the full social security for which he is eligible.

The lid on earnings discriminates against persons who must work for a living.

This was a depression device that was designed to create job opportunities by putting financial pressure on persons eligible for social security benefits to retire and make way for others.

It never accomplished this purpose even in the depression years. In these times of high employment and inflated prices, the earnings ceiling helps no one and imposes a severe financial hardship on many retired heads of families and widowed mothers of young children.

It is cruel to cut off payments to people in these circumstances who are capable and willing to work to provide a better life for their families. Social security income went further during the depression. Now it often is not enough to provide the necessities of life, let alone some of the comforts.

The Johnson administration considers families with less than \$3,000 annual income to be living at the poverty level. If this is true, I should think that repeal of the earnings limit would be the most effective antipoverty measure we could take.

The Government's own figures show that 16.2 percent of the families in the below \$3,000 income bracket are headed by women under 65. Another 30.5 per-

cent of such families are headed by persons 65 or older.

So almost 47 percent of families at the poverty income level are potentially eligible for social security benefits. Many are denied benefits because the family heads must work to get an income of even \$3,000 or less.

These families could be helped by passage of my bill and it will not cost one dime for the type of bureaucracy needed to run the antipoverty programs.

Along with my bill to repeal this archaic and senseless provision of the Social Security Act, I have also introduced a separate bill to increase the present monthly \$100 limitation on earnings to \$200.

Although I am firmly committed to full repeal of the ceiling, I know that it is doubtful that my goal can be achieved in this Congress. I do believe, however, that we will be able to get a substantial increase. The present limitations were established in 1961. Wage levels have risen considerably during the last 4 years so, at the very least, a sizable rise of the ceiling is long overdue.

Both Houses of the Congress, as my colleagues know, agreed last year on an increase to \$1,500 a year. This certainly would be an improvement but, if we are not able to remove the ceiling completely, I believe we should double it to \$2,400, a figure that is still below the poverty income level. My bill to raise the monthly permitted earnings to \$200 would accomplish this.

AID TO THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to express my unequivocal opposition to further extension of aid to the United Arab Republic and other countries which substantially damage our Nation's policy interests and materially disrupt the peace of the world.

I do so with the hope that my remarks, and the thinking of like-minded colleagues, will stir a consensus sufficient to set our course straight.

It has been the strategy of the State Department to tender aid to Egypt as a diplomatic lever. Their feeling persists that the Public Law 480 grants constitute an effective instrument in influencing the United Arab Republic Government toward arms limitation. They insist that the aid keeps the American foot in the door. Additionally, the Department does not believe that a stoppage of aid, producing greater economic hardship, would necessarily limit the Egyptian military buildup.

I have received from the Department of State, in answer to my inquiry of December 14, a succinct outline of their policy. The message is unmistakable. The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Phillips Talbot, replied thusly:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., January 5, 1965.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HALPERN: Thank you for your letter of December 14 in which you

set forth your views on our relations with the United Arab Republic and ask us to comment specifically on an article by Hedrick Smith in the December 10 New York Times.

As you know, under the multiyear Public Law 480 agreement which we have with the United Arab Republic there are periodic reviews of the quantities of various commodities programed at the beginning of the year. At the moment the Department has under consideration a request from the United Arab Republic for certain additional amounts of corn and poultry. The amount which would be involved, incidentally, would be considerably less than the \$35 million reported by Mr. Smith of the New York Times.

On the second point which you raise, the desirability of bringing the arms race in the Middle East under control, we have put a great deal of thought and effort into finding ways and means of making progress on this serious problem. We have explored the matter with the various governments concerned, and these efforts will continue. As far as the United Arab Republic is concerned, one of the few effective tools which we have to influence its government toward this objective, as well as responsible policies in other areas, is our Public Law 480 program. A cutback in our aid would unquestionably compound the United Arab Republic's economic difficulties. I do not think it follows that Nasser would therefore necessarily spend less for military purposes or that he would be induced to pursue a more reasonable course in the field of arms control.

I appreciated having your views on our relations with the United Arab Republic, and I hope that you will not hesitate to write again if we can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

PHILLIPS TALBOT,
Assistant Secretary.

The importance of American surplus assistance to Egypt is undeniable. The United Arab Republic's position in the International Monetary Fund is precarious at best. A UPI dispatch datelined January 5, printed in the New York Times of January 6, sums up the bewildering economic situation confronting President Nasser. He is faced with severe conditions; the Cairo and Alexandria Stock Exchanges have been closed temporarily; a number of key factories were shut down due to the lack of raw materials, and others will also face temporary stoppages.

Egypt has accumulated \$250 million of short-term debt to Western countries, half of which is overdue. Three hundred million dollars is owed to the Communist bloc. Recently, the United Arab Republic Government sold \$30 million of gold for hard currency, for expedient purposes. The situation is, indeed, harsh and growing more dangerous. The State Department is correct in establishing the significance of American surplus food.

Mr. Speaker, the Department's letter to me indicates how fully the political motivations are shaping our aid program vis-a-vis the United Arab Republic.

In my view, the official justification for continuing this aid program, whether based on political or economic arguments, is false. I question whether American policy is and will secure the political objectives envisaged.

The United Arab Republic military advance surely contradicts our Government's thinking that by the Public Law

480 leverage, the United States is succeeding in impressing upon Mr. Nasser the urgency of arms limitation in the Middle East. If, as the Assistant Secretary states, the Public Law 480 extensions to Egypt are mainly intended to counter upward military expenditures, this has hitherto failed conclusively.

Now I think it is legitimate to question the aid criteria applied to Egypt. It is important that we have an understandable impression of what our foreign aid program is and what it seeks to achieve.

In whatever form, assistance abroad becomes intuitively an arm of American foreign policy. In this process there must be both political, economic, and strategic motivations.

My conception of aid is a mixture of the possible and the prudent. It must conform with U.S. long-range goals for the countries and regions where it is directed. In this sense, aid is partially a political instrument.

We therefore fuse political and economic thought. For the future, aid is important in the attempt to achieve reasonably independent, reasonably viable, and reasonably stable governments in the underdeveloped world. We do not wish that newly free states, weak and insecure, come to lean too heavily upon enemy forces, thereby losing their maneuverability and neutrality. Economic assistance is part and parcel of this vital American interest.

At the same time, on humanitarian grounds, it is foolhardy to isolate the genius of productivity and its overabundant wealth. We are a civilized nation and I think one of the grand exercises of this generation must be the extension of our knowledge and surplus to meet human want.

And so one must view foreign assistance as a mixture of ideologies, a mixture of emotion and motivation. It is self-interest and world interest at the same time. Admittedly, it is a difficult criteria and the practical judgments which must be made from day to day are difficult and thus rarely questions of pure white and black.

It is my contention here, nonetheless, that Egypt has transgressed the outer limits of eligibility. This applies similarly to Indonesia.

Presently, the Public Law 480 agreement with the United Arab Republic is still in effect. The 3-year contract will terminate next June 30. We must insist that no further assistance is granted until the Egyptian Government has shown itself willing to live in peace, and until their leaders adopt a more responsible course which is reasonably allied with U.S. vital interests.

Mr. Speaker, I have heretofore expounded upon my reasons in the House. Let me briefly touch upon a few of them in light of recent developments.

The Government of Egypt is destroying the principle of American foreign aid. It is ruining the rational thinking which proponents of our programs have for so long adopted in defending the principle in this House and before an increasingly hostile public opinion. I fear that additional aid to Egypt will render our pro-

grams almost indefensible, opening the floodgates to unwise and indiscriminate trimming, subjecting the principle to even greater unpopularity throughout the country.

In the first place, the awesome Egyptian arms buildup is contrary to U.S. interests. Our assistance is underwriting this adventure. Relative military superiority in the hands of the Egyptian leaders cannot possibly further American aims in the Middle East; it will make the resolution of old enmities and conflicts less possible; it will enhance the means of subversion and indirect aggression.

We have the Egyptian intervention in the Yemen as an example of duplicity and hostility. The Government is expending millions on this sad project. U.S. assistance is helping to feed Egypt's poor, enabling the Government to divert its resources to war engagement and making it possible to avoid the cruel internal demands which arise. In this sense, the validity of American aid has already been damaged.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me quote briefly from President Nasser's speech at Port Said on December 23 last:

Nasser then sneered at the \$1½ billion of U.S. aid that he has received:

I want to say that we are getting wheat from the Americans. We must disclose the matter openly. [Laughter and jeers.] We get wheat, meat, and leftovers * * * yesterday the American Ambassador called on the Deputy Premier for Supply and sat for a few minutes looking glum and sulky. He was supposed to talk about supplies we are obtaining from America in accordance with the products law. The Ambassador told the Deputy Premier that he cannot at present talk about this matter at all. Why? Because he does not like our currency, that is the currency of Egypt. I would like him to know that whoever does not like our currency can go and drink up the sea. If the Mediterranean is not enough, there is the Red Sea. We can give him that as well. * * * As for American aid * * * we tell them "Thank you" and "May you have plenty," but we are not prepared to accept words and arrogance.

It might be of interest for you to consider the United Arab Republic representative's statement on aid to the General Assembly, United Nations:

Foreign aid in both the financial and technical fields is an essential element for enabling the developing countries to reach a reasonable stage of development. Foreign aid, however, should not be a means of bringing pressure on developing countries, nor should it be a method of political or ideological interference. Rather, it is a right to which developing countries are entitled.

Regarding Colonel Nasser's remarks, it must be said that they were meant for internal consumption. But it refutes the official apologetic attitude that the United States, through its aid program, is acquiring leverage. And if one object of our aid is to build some understanding of American goals and standards throughout the world, the hysterical outbursts of Mr. Nasser, along with his controlled, anti-Western communications media, is certainly not affording America a very reliable opening.

The second statement poses an irrational thought; that aid to the developing countries is expected as a matter of

right. It is not. This presumption affirms my earlier contention that the Egyptians have not the slightest concept of what our aid program is and why it exists. They have got their thinking wrong because we have failed to enforce understandable criteria. While I agree that aid should not constitute a direct, short-term political instrument, it would not hurt to explain to the Egyptian gentleman that the United States, as well as Egypt, has certain worldwide objectives not inimical to those of the United Arab Republic, and that we are not wholly selfish in pursuing them. This is not wanton interference in domestic affairs, a much abused phrase. The fact of the matter is that we live in a world of competing interests, and that these must be adjusted to strengthen the peace.

Now we have learned that Egypt is materially supporting the rebellion against the legal Congo Government—Leopoldville. Aside from the question of whether this is affordable—financially justifiable—this assistance is directly contrary to our interest in a stable Congo situation. Any growing strength of the rebels means greater military difficulty for the central government forces, which we are supporting. Will a steadily worsening picture mean that American policy is once again faced with the agonizing decision of extended involvement in Afro-Asia? I do not want us to be faced with this untimely choice, should the rebellion recoup substantially and turn the tide against the Tshombe regime.

In essence, Nasser's policy is contrary to our immediate goals in the Congo and our long-range objectives in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I regret very much that the original amendment to the food-for-peace program, offered by the former Representative of Ohio, Mr. Bolton, was not agreed to in 1964. This would have helped to set our course right.

I have attempted to report on my thinking as to why our aid program to Egypt is self-defeating. Manifestly, our policymakers have gotten themselves embroiled in a maze of worried counterpressures. The scare is always that in forthrightly denying assistance, and explaining the decision carefully, our country will lose a friend.

The hurtful tendency in this respect is always to think in terms of tomorrow and not the future. We are frozen by a checkerboard of short-term gains and losses. Nations are more likely to have permanent interests rather than permanent friends, and even interests should not become hardened for all time. Fate often plays dirty tricks, and the one sure factor of international politics is that adherences and interests will shift because no one state can control absolutely the world scene, and no two nations have precisely similar instincts.

The validity and success of our foreign aid program, never easily tested, should not be subjected to risk by the unreasoned pressures of any one recipient.

I would like to see now a firm declaration of purpose. The request of Egypt for an additional surplus should be denied and a full explanation given.

In this connection, we would be implementing the antiaggressor amendment of 1963 which states that no assistance be rendered to countries which are engaging in or preparing for war against the United States or her other aid recipients.

Second, I firmly urge that upon completion of the current Public Law 480 agreement, Egypt be forewarned that no extension can be granted under present circumstances. The Egyptian Government, and other interested governments, should be advised of this decision with a full explanation so that there will be no excuse for misunderstanding.

In so doing, we will be acting to reaffirm the validity of our assistance program, and our vital policy interests can be pursued.

THE FAMOUS UCLA-LABOR REPORT

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, "chaotic" is the most accurate description of the agriculture situation in California's fresh fruit and vegetable industries.

In anticipation of the termination of the bracero program—for supplying necessary supplemental labor during peak harvesting and cultivating seasons—California farmers and governmental agencies experimented thoroughly with every conceivable suggestion to replace foreign workers. Every proposal failed. There is still no practical, satisfactory solution. The situation is deteriorating hourly. California produces more than 40 percent of the Nation's fresh vegetables. Chaos in California will adversely affect all Americans.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Departments of Labor and Agriculture are not publishing reports about the situation and have not proposed satisfactory solutions. There are some reports you probably will not see.

The UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations' report on problems of farm labor recruitment has created quite a disturbance.

One chapter of their rather voluminous report was entitled "Can Recipients of Public Assistance Be Recruited for Farm Work?" Here are some facts taken from the report.

The bureau of public assistance in Los Angeles County had 177,026 open cases in July 1964. These cases covered 303,458 persons. Of the 177,026 case files, the largest category consists of 100,230 persons who were 65 years of age or older. The average age was about 75.

There were 4,489 blind persons, 18,359 permanently disabled, 5,653 children who were placed in boarding homes or institutions, and 9,653 cases of unemployables who did not come into any of these categories.

Included in the 177,026 cases were 33,997 families receiving aid to their dependent children. In 9 out of 10 of these families the mother was the only adult in home and had an average of 3 children, more than 80 percent of whom were under 12 years of age.

Because of the large number of preschool children in these homes, the mother was needed in the home and could not become self-supporting. Even so, their number is not static, for 9,021 families left the relief rolls in 1963, often because the mothers obtained adequate supervision of their children and employment which made them self-supporting.

An examination of these cases leaves 3,879 in which there was at least 1 clearly employable person. Of these, 2,993 were added since February of this year when the bureau began administration of the new aid to families with dependent children—unemployed, and 886 were classed as general relief cases.

Thus, in seeking the number of public assistance cases in which persons clearly might become more gainfully employed, we are talking about 1¼ percent of the persons receiving aid.

Well, we get up to this point in the report and we have been quoting directly from the report in hopes that the make-up of the welfare rolls would be of interest to you. Then the people making this survey decided to send a questionnaire to social caseworkers to get their views on the feasibility and desirability of recruiting unemployed persons for farmwork. The caseworkers were those who help administer the program of aid to families with dependent children including unemployed parents.

The following are some of the answers given by social caseworkers to the question, "From your experience, what response would you make to persons who make the charge that most people would rather stay on welfare than do farm or any other type of work?" Fifteen percent of the social workers agreed with the statement, 45 percent disagreed, and 31 percent cautiously recoiled from the question.

Following are some of the answers given by social workers to the question:

Social status of aid is better than farm labor.

People would rather be on aid than do strenuous farm labor.

I would think that persons who make this charge are ill advised, nearsighted, have little or no respect for the unfortunates, gage human worth primarily by wealth, and believe that all poverty is the wages of sin.

Hard work is no longer considered dignified.

Farm work provides no incentive.

Planning toward future self-maintenance is an eligibility requirement for receipt of current aid.

Many clients specifically state that they left the South to free themselves from a rural economy.

Generally, when people make the above charge, I ask them if they have ever spoken to anyone on welfare. They say "No," and I first smirk; second, look surprised; third, look superior, and/or give a brief speech on the "Dignity of Man in the 20th Century." Then I change the conversation to something less controversial like Goldwater or birth control.

I would agree with them for the following reasons: First, men generally seek pleasure, not hardship; second, farming connotes the simple, the unlearned, the square; third, our clients envisage any kind of work to mean something menial, difficult, nonunion, and odious; and, fourth, why work when you can get paid for doing nothing?

Offer them a job and find out.

As long as society offers them no better position, why should they not be supported by that society?

Some people are just plain lazy.

Why should they not have a choice to work in a field in which they are skilled?

Transportation would be a tremendous problem for most of my clients.

Many, many clients have financial security for the first time in their lives when they first begin to receive public assistance. They are reluctant to give up this security for the uncertainty of competing in the labor market, especially when they know layoffs may be frequent. Besides, many clients work at casual labor while receiving aid and thus have two incomes.

It is a matter of simple economics. Until farm wages are raised and conditions improved, people would rather stay on welfare, just to eat. This does not mean they prefer welfare, but only that they do that which is most economically feasible. The above listed statement is not a charge, it is a cold fact.

URBAN RENEWAL PROBLEMS THAT MUST BE MET

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most controversial books ever written on the Federal urban renewal program, "The Federal Bulldozer," has, in effect, been condensed for the January-February issue of the Harvard Business Review, by its author, Dr. Martin Anderson.

I do not agree with Dr. Anderson's final conclusion that the urban renewal program must immediately be repealed. It is not necessary to agree with the author's conclusion of repeal to recognize that the facts he presents pose important problems in the urban renewal field, problems which this administration has yet to meet or even admit exist.

Last year, when the Republican minority presented a housing program prior to that offered by the administration, we pointed out that an overemphasis on high-rent commercial developments and luxury apartments had sacrificed the original goal of providing low- and moderate-income housing. At the same time, private developers without Federal assistance had, with less delay and more success, renewed downtown areas in many of our Nation's cities. For that reason, the Widnall bill and companion measures proposed a strict priority for housing redevelopment, and the placing of commercial renewal on a loan basis.

Relocation problems, particularly for minority groups, the elderly, and small

businesses, and the lack of adequate compensation for property taken, were also noted last year. The Widnall bill again met these problems by providing for a physical verification of decent, safe, and sanitary housing at the time of relocation, advanced planning for small businessmen, and a complete overhaul of the concept of just compensation. All of these, as Dr. Anderson's article shows, are problems contained in or caused by the urban renewal program.

Over the past year, in hearings held before the House Special Housing Subcommittee, I have raised questions concerning the alleged increase in tax revenues to localities as a result of urban renewal programs. The increase, as the answers to my questions show, is still in the "estimated" stage, one it has been in since the beginning of the program. This same "myth" has been dealt with by Dr. Anderson.

And a recent report by the General Accounting Office on relocation in Washington, D.C., confirms the suspicion I have expressed before, and Dr. Anderson has also developed, that standards for relocation housing are sometimes not as high as housing code standards used to declare an area "blighted."

Most of the suggestions by the minority were not acted upon last year. In two cases, however, Congress did begin major new programs that I had proposed. As Dr. Anderson's figures indicate, the number of dilapidated structures suitable for clearance is in a continuing decline, yet the administration still insists on the bulldozer technique. Congress last year, however, provided for a new \$50 million rehabilitation loan program, proposed in my bill, to allow the individual homeowner and small businessman a chance to survive. The second proposal enacted into law provides for a code enforcement urban renewal project, and a cutoff of funds in the future if cities do not take enough local responsibility in this area.

The administration's reaction to these new laws has done nothing to insure against future criticism by scholars such as Dr. Anderson. First the Bureau of the Budget refused to fund the loan program, then the Urban Renewal Administration ignored the code enforcement program, although many cities have expressed interest in it. Perhaps a reading of Dr. Anderson's article will shake them out of their lethargy.

I include the article at this point:

[From the Harvard Business Review, January-February 1965]

THINKING AHEAD

Business leaders have heard many times in recent years that our housing and our cities are decaying, that private enterprise cannot save them, that the Government must step in and help private enterprise with urban renewal, and that they—as responsible citizens and businessmen—should collaborate with the Government in this effort.¹ In my judgment, none of these statements is true.

The purpose of this article is to evaluate the Federal urban renewal program—its goals, its methods, its accomplishments—and to compare them with those of the free

marketplace. A comparison of the results that these two forces—the Federal urban renewal program and private enterprise—have produced since 1949 brings out some fundamental issues and questions that have been obscured in a fog of good intentions and platitudes. The basic question is this: Should the Federal urban renewal program be continued and expanded, or should it be stopped? I shall argue that it should be stopped.

GOALS OF RENEWAL

In response to continual exhortation and pressure to do something to "save" the cities and improve housing, Congress enacted the Federal urban renewal program in 1949, proceeding on the conviction that a program of this type would help to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through clearance of slums and blighted areas.

Stimulate sufficient housing production and community development to remedy the housing shortage.

Realize the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.

I doubt that anyone can argue with these goals. Better homes, improved neighborhoods, and the elimination of slums—all are desirable. The difficulty is not with the goals, but with the means of accomplishing them and with the consequences that result.

HOW PROGRAM WORKS

In essence the Federal urban renewal program attempts to rebuild rundown areas of cities by feeding large amounts of public money and government power into the normal operations of the private marketplace. It does not complement the private market; it short-circuits it.

This is how the program works. First, a section of a city is designated as an urban renewal area, and plans are drawn up and approved by the local renewal agency, the local governing body, and the Federal authorities in Washington. A public hearing is then held at which local renewal officials document their case for urban renewal. At this time other persons interested in the project have the opportunity to speak for or against it.

Once the planning is complete, execution starts. Though some execution activities may be carried on simultaneously, there are six basic steps:

1. Land acquisition: The land and the buildings are usually acquired by negotiation with the owners, but, if this fails, the renewal authorities will use the power of eminent domain to force the recalcitrant owners to sell; in cases like this, the purchase price is determined by independent appraisers.

2. Displacement and relocation: Individuals, families, and businesses located in the area are forced to move and find homes or establish businesses elsewhere. The law provides for some compensation and requires renewal authorities to relocate them satisfactorily, although in practice this does not always happen.

3. Site clearance: The wrecking cranes and the bulldozers demolish any buildings not considered useful by the renewal authorities.

4. Site improvements and supporting facilities: The cleared land is usually improved by the construction of streets, sewers, water mains, lighting systems, schools, libraries and parks.

5. Disposition of improved land: The cleared and improved land can be sold, leased, donated, or retained by the renewal agency. Usually the land is sold to private persons either by competitive bidding or by negotiation between renewal officials and the private buyer.

6. New construction: The new construction may be residential, industrial, commercial, or public; so far it has been predominantly private residential. The private de-

veloper is usually obliged to build according to a general plan approved by the renewal authorities.

This, then, is urban renewal—damned by some, praised by many, and understood by very few. At first glance, urban renewal would seem to be a most desirable program, both plausible and appealing. The picture is often painted like this: before—dirty, dark, ugly slums; after—clean, bright, beautiful buildings. The contrast is clear, the appeal seductive, but this picture shows only the hopes and wishes of urban renewal. The realities of its costs and consequences are drastically different.

EVERYBODY PAYS

Urban renewal is, of course, expensive. The gross project cost of urban renewal includes all expenses incurred by a local renewal authority—planning costs, land, buildings, overhead, interest, relocation, site improvements, and supporting facilities.

Assume that all this costs \$9 million for a good-sized project. Where does the money come from?

Some of it comes from private developers who buy the cleared and improved land. On the average, private developers have been buying urban renewal land for about 30 percent of the gross cost of the project—say \$3 million for our \$9 million project. This leaves the city with a net cost of \$6 million. The Federal Government will pay two-thirds of this net cost, or, in this case, \$4 million.

Thus, for our \$9 million project, we get \$3 million from the private developer who becomes the new owner, \$4 million from taxpayers all over the United States, and \$2 million from taxpayers living in the community with the urban renewal project. Additional features called noncash grants-in-aid, can reduce the net cost to the city still further.

Because the Federal Government subsidizes two-thirds of the net cost to the city, some people feel that urban renewal is a bonanza that cannot be passed up. This might be true if only one city were engaged in urban renewal, but there are over 1,500 projects in about 750 cities throughout the country. Through Federal taxes, the residents of any one of these cities are helping to pay for all the other projects. As more and more cities attempt to "get their share" and the overall cost of the program rises, the cost to all necessarily increases.

BETTER HOUSING?

One of the most serious consequences of the Federal urban renewal program is the effect that it has had on the supply of housing, especially low-rent housing. This is ironic because one of the goals of the program is to improve living conditions. Why has this goal not been realized?

The typical urban renewal project destroys a great many homes. Between 1950 and 1960, the program was responsible for the destruction of approximately 126,000 housing units. Of these homes, 101,000 had been classified as substandard by the local renewal authorities, while 25,000 were in good condition. The good ones were destroyed because they were judged to be incompatible with the proposed plan for the area.

I have estimated that in this same decade approximately 28,000 new housing units were completed within urban renewal areas.² About 25,000 of these were privately owned homes; 3,000 or so were public housing units. Score: 126,000 down, about 28,000 up. This means that almost four times as many homes were destroyed as were built.

The total effect on housing conditions was even worse. All the 126,000 homes that were destroyed were located in older sections of

¹ See, for example, Leland Hazard, "Are We Committing Urban Suicide?" *Thinking Ahead*, HBR July-August 1964, p. 152.

² "The Federal Bulldozer" (Cambridge, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964), pp. 65-67.

cities, and almost all were low-rent units. It is doubtful whether the average rent paid exceeded \$50 or \$60 a month. On the other hand, the rents of the new privately owned homes were very high. For example, those homes built in 1962 in urban renewal areas had rents averaging \$195 a month. (A small percentage rented for over \$360 a month.) Hence it was virtually impossible for any person displaced from an urban renewal area to move back in: he could afford it only if he moved into public housing. And only 3,000 units of public housing were built—an insignificant number in comparison to the number of units destroyed.

Thus the net effect of the Federal urban renewal program in the field of housing for the period I have studied can be summed up in this way:

More homes were destroyed than were built.

Those destroyed were predominantly low-rent homes.

Those built were predominantly high-rent homes.

Housing conditions were made worse for those whose housing conditions were least good.

Housing conditions were improved for those whose housing conditions were best.

IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS?

Private studies indicate that the people displaced by urban renewal usually move into housing of approximately the same quality as the housing they were forced out of—but they often pay more for it. Their predicament is compounded, not alleviated, by urban renewal. Government studies, on the other hand, indicate that about 80 percent of the displaced people move into standard housing. Obviously, both the private studies and the Government studies cannot be correct.

I suspect the reason for the discrepancy between them is that local government officials decide whether or not a dwelling unit in an urban renewal area is standard or sub-standard, and their estimates are therefore subject to bias. An official interested in speeding up the process of an urban renewal project may be tempted to apply high housing standards to justify the taking of the property, and then, when it comes to relocating the people displaced, he may be tempted to use quite low housing standards to justify the quick relocation of these people.

The notion that over 80 percent of the displaced people move into good housing is difficult to reconcile with other relevant facts. The people living in these areas are relatively poor. A great many of them come from minority groups; approximately two-thirds of all those forced to move are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Good-quality, conveniently located housing costs so much more than poor housing that it is difficult to conceive of hundreds of thousands of low-income people, many of them subject to racial discrimination, suddenly moving from low-quality housing into higher quality housing at rents they can afford.

And then one might ask the following question: If it is true that all this good-quality, conveniently located, low-rent housing is available, why then is it necessary to force these people out of their homes with a bulldozer? Would it not be far simpler, more just, and much cheaper just to tell them about the better homes available elsewhere?

ONE MILLION EVICTIONS

The number of people affected by the program was small during its first few years of operation. But I have estimated that as of December 31, 1962, approximately 1,665,000 persons were living or had lived in urban renewal areas. This is about the same number of people that live in Detroit, Mich.—the fifth largest city in the United States. Some

of these people have already been forced out; the rest will be on their way eventually.

The number of people actually evicted so far is very large. By March 31, 1963, about 609,000 persons had been forced to move, and the number has, of course, continued to go up. I estimate that at least 1 million people will be evicted by the end of 1965. And this is by no means the end; in fact, it is probably just a small start. In 1962, William Slayton, the Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration, stated that approximately 1 million families would be displaced during the next decade. This means that somewhere around 4 million persons will be actually displaced by 1972—or about 1 person out of every 50 living in the United States.

GOOD FOR BUSINESS?

Although most urban renewal areas are predominantly residential, they often contain a number of businesses. These businesses range from one-man offices to industrial concerns with several hundred employees. According to a 1960 report financed by the Small Business Administration:

"It is estimated that there are over 100,000 business firms in all 650 project areas. The approximately 100,000 firms scheduled for dislocation from project areas on December 31, 1959, represent a beginning only. Now projects have been started at an increasing rate. Although no precise forecasts have been made, it is expected that the volume of business dislocations from renewal areas over the 1960-70 decade will be at least twice the 100,000 already underway or planned."

What happens to a business when it is forced to move? Does it stay in business? Where does it move to?

According to the study quoted above, many firms never relocate at all. This study covered 14 cities with 21 urban renewal projects containing a total of 2,946 displaced firms. The finding: 756 of them either went out of business or disappeared. Similar findings have been made by others.

A study conducted by Brown University in the city of Providence, R.I., found that 40 percent of the businesses displaced went out of business.⁴

A study prepared by the Library of Congress concluded that urban renewal projects "are destroying small businesses and jobs and contributing to the unemployment problem."⁵

What about rents for firms forced to relocate? In the study prepared for the Small Business Administration, a sample was taken of 4 cities that contained 1,142 displaced firms. Only 41, or 3.1 percent, actually moved back into the urban renewal area. The researchers observed:

"Approximately 75 percent of those who do relocate find quarters within 1 mile of their former location; and nearly 40 percent within one-quarter mile. They generally occupy about the same floor area they did before (which is less than they claimed to want or need), at a square foot rental at least double what they were paying (which is much more than they claimed to be able to afford or to be willing to pay)."

THE TAX MYTH

One of the most valued arguments presented by those who favor expansion of the

⁴ William N. Kinnard, Jr., and Zenon S. Malinowski, "The Impact of Dislocation From Urban Renewal Areas on Small Business," prepared by the University of Connecticut under a grant from the Small Business Administration, July 1960, pp. 2-3.

⁵ Chamber of Commerce of the United States, "Washington Report," December 20, 1963.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ W. N. Kinnard, Jr., and Z. S. Malinowski, op. cit., p. 75.

urban renewal program is that it will strengthen and increase the tax base and thus increase tax revenues to the city. Unfortunately this has not happened, and the chances of urban renewal producing a significant tax revenue increase in the future are small.

The latest data I have on new construction actually started in urban renewal areas goes through March 31, 1961. It shows that the urban renewal programs actually decreased the tax revenues flowing into the cities' tax coffers. By the end of 1960, approximately \$735 million of real estate had been destroyed in urban renewal project areas. About \$824 million of real estate construction had been started, \$577 million of which was privately owned and thus taxable. If we optimistically assume that 70 percent of this total amount privately started was ever finished, the net result is about \$400 million worth of taxable property—\$335 million less than we had before urban renewal.⁷

Is this a temporary situation, or is an adverse tax effect a fundamental quality of urban renewal? Several factors militate against net tax increases:

1. Interim tax losses from real estate destroyed are often overlooked. Once buildings are down, no taxes are paid on them. Nor are any taxes paid until new buildings have been put up. The new buildings will probably be worth much more than the old ones. But the length of time between the destruction of the old buildings and the construction of the new ones can easily be 5 years or more. During this time the city is losing tax revenue.

2. Tax revenue increases that would have occurred in the absence of urban renewal must be considered. In most cases, a certain amount of new construction and rehabilitation would probably have been accomplished with private funds, thereby increasing the tax base with no cost to the city.

3. Much of the new construction in the urban renewal area would have been built elsewhere in the city anyway. Some experts in the field estimate that from 50 to 75 percent of this construction would have been accomplished by private enterprise.

4. Many of the new tenants in an urban renewal area will come from other parts of the city. What happens to the value of the buildings they vacate?

5. Some cities have had to give special tax abatements to induce private developers to come in. This, of course, will further reduce any net gain in tax revenues that might materialize.

To be sure, some of the factors operating may tend to increase the tax revenues. If an urban renewal project is successful, it is possible that the value of the surrounding buildings may increase. But before this is translated into increased taxes, the assessment on the buildings must be raised.

The whole issue of tax revenue changes is still a cloudy one and will probably remain so. It should be kept in mind that the net change will be the result of many complex factors. It is not enough just to compare the value of the old real estate with the proposed value of the new real estate. Timing of payments, effect on the rest of the city, what would have happened without urban renewal—these must all be considered, along with the fact that the process of urban renewal itself costs the city a considerable amount of money.

CONSTITUTIONAL?

Under the Constitution of the United States, it is understood that a man is free to use his property as he desires as long as he does not interfere with the rights of others. Traditionally, public use is the only reason for which the Government may seize private

⁷ See "The Federal Bulldozer," pp. 180, 181.

property. The Supreme Court changed this in 1954, and today, under the Federal urban renewal program, it is possible for the Government to seize the property of one man, destroy it, and then sell the cleared land to some other man at a negotiated price.

The Constitution clearly states that the power of eminent domain may be used only to seize private property for public use. Approximately 70 percent of the new construction in urban renewal areas is privately owned. By no distortion of the thinking process can this be construed to be a public use; it is clearly a private use.

The Supreme Court essentially justified this procedure on the grounds that it was in the public interest. They neatly sidestepped the problem of clearly defining the public interest. The use of the public interest to justify a Government program often means that one group of people will gain at the expense of some other group. Those who do not mind sacrificing the rights of a few persons in the name of the public interest eventually may end up sacrificing the rights of the public in the name of the public interest.

The equation of public interest with public use is a dangerous principle to accept. It means that the Government theoretically could seize anyone's property for any reason that an official claimed was in the public interest if he could justify it to the satisfaction of the Court. Every citizen has the responsibility of questioning the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Court is not infallible in its interpretation of the law; and its decisions can be reversed.

POWER OF FREE ENTERPRISE

According to certain experts, things are getting worse in urban housing. In a report of the President's Commission on National Goals in 1960, Catherine Bauer Wurster stated:

"There is a great deal of seriously substandard housing in American communities, and spreading 'gray areas' in various stages of actual or potential decay, plus commercial and industrial blight. It is quite evident that economic progress alone does not cure these evils, and that local governments cannot do the necessary job alone."

Others have made similar statements. If they are correct, it seems that we are in for serious trouble. Fortunately, the actual developments of recent years contradict these pessimistic opinions.

Impressive progress has been made toward achieving the objectives set forth by Congress in 1949. Overall housing conditions have improved dramatically, in cities and outside of cities for the poor and the rich, and for the nonwhites as well as the whites. This progress has been furthered by businessmen operating in the free marketplace. The improvements in housing quality and the increase in the housing supply accomplished through private enterprise. To summarize some of the more important aspects of the record:

Both the relative and absolute changes in housing quality between 1940 and 1960 were striking. In 1940, 51 percent of all housing in the United States was considered standard or sound; in 1950 the proportion had moved up to 63 percent; and in 1960, fully 81 percent was classified as standard. If this trend continues, it is likely that the Census of 1970 will reveal that 90 to 95 percent of all our housing is standard.

From 1950 to 1960 alone the total number of standard homes increased from 29.1 to 47.4 million, a 63-percent increase in just 10 years. This increase of over 18 million standard homes was the result of both

new construction and rehabilitation. Over 12 million new units were built, and the number of substandard units declined from 17 million to under 11 million. Virtually all of this was accomplished by private construction, rehabilitation, and demolition efforts; massive amounts of private funds were invested in housing. These investments were in no way connected with the Federal urban renewal program.

From 1945 to 1960, private mortgage debt outstanding increased by almost \$170 billion. Although approximately 40 percent of this total was insured by the Federal Government through the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration, this does not mean that the Government was responsible for the increase in housing quality. The underlying demand for housing and the growing income of those who desired better housing were clearly the predominating factors. The effect of government insurance programs was probably to produce a slight increase in the amount of housing starts; but it should be kept in mind that if these government insurance programs had not existed, private insurance companies, such as the Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Corporation would have surely developed at a much faster rate than they did.

The amount of really bad housing—that classified as dilapidated by the Bureau of the Census—declined from 9.8 percent in 1950 to 5.2 percent in 1960. The 1960 overall vacancy rate was slightly over 9 percent. The number of dilapidated homes was actually smaller than the number of vacant homes. Vacancy rates were much higher for poor housing than for good housing. In 1960, 6.8 percent of the standard housing was vacant, whereas the vacancy rate was 20 percent for dilapidated housing. Then, as now, the fact seemed to be that there were a certain number of people who either could not or would not spend enough money to rent or to buy the available standard housing.

HOUSING FOR MINORITIES

It is sometimes charged that the free working of capitalism cannot produce gains for some groups of people, particularly the nonwhite population. Many are convinced that the only answer must lie in the direction of greater Government intervention and higher public subsidies.

In fact, the nonwhite population of the United States has enjoyed a very substantial increase in the quality of its housing. From 1950 to 1960 there was an overall net increase of 1,813,000 standard units and a decrease of 537,000 substandard units. Between 1950 and 1960 the percent of standard housing occupied by nonwhites doubled—going from 28 to 56 percent. Most of the bad housing is now located in the South, where only 38 percent is standard. In the Northeast, 77 percent is standard; in the North Central, 73 percent; in the West, 79 percent. In comparisons like this it should be remembered that the rents paid by whites are about 29 percent higher than those paid by nonwhites, and that the values of the homes owned by whites are over 82 percent higher.

The housing conditions of nonwhites have improved substantially, and although the quality of their housing does not yet equal that of the whites, it is rapidly approaching it, particularly in areas outside the South. Compared to the Federal urban renewal program, the private marketplace is making swift, substantial progress.

MARCHING METROPOLISES

The same type of improvement in housing quality that has taken place throughout the country has taken place in our cities. In 1960, fully 88.6 percent of the housing located in central cities of over 100,000 population was classified as standard. In these same 128 central cities, the dilapidated housing had declined to slightly over 3 percent of the

total. In our 13 largest cities, taken as a group, 90.1 percent of all housing was standard in 1960; only 2.6 percent was dilapidated.

Housing quality in cities has been continually improving, and now, as in the past, housing in cities is substantially better than in the country taken as a whole. Today the bulk of the relatively small amount of bad housing that still exists lies outside of our cities, particularly in the rural areas. Only 18 percent of the substandard housing lies within cities having populations of more than 100,000. There appears to be a definite correlation between the degree of urbanization and the amount of good housing.

Since the war, construction activity has been booming all over the United States and its cities. From 1950 to 1960, approximately \$52.6 billion of new building construction went up in cities with populations over 100,000. Only a little over 1 percent of this was urban renewal construction. If our cities are declining, as is often claimed, how does one account for the steady increase in building activity?

What about the worrisome claim that the middle-income group is disappearing from the city? The city of the future is prophesied by some as the city of the very rich and the very poor. The facts indicate that this has not happened and probably will not happen. If we define "middle income" as \$4,000 to \$10,000 a year, we find that almost 57 percent of all people living in large cities fall within this range. In fact, the income distribution in large cities is roughly the same as that for the country as a whole. Today's city is not the city of the very rich and the very poor; it is predominantly the city of the middle-income group.

By any objective measure, the indications are clear that our cities—in overall terms—are continually improving and that today they are better than they ever were before.

Validity of data: The foregoing facts were taken from the data on housing quality collected every 10 years by the Bureau of the Census. These Census data were the result of observations made by 150,000 enumerators, all of whom were given careful instructions on how to classify housing.

The three categories used in 1960 were "sound," "deteriorating," and "dilapidated." Categories or definitions of categories vary slightly from decade to decade, but adjustments were made to make the data comparable in time, and the effect of the slightly changed definitions was negligible. Generally speaking, "sound" housing has no defects or has slight defects that would normally be corrected during regular maintenance (lack of paint, for example). "Deteriorating" housing needs more repair than that required by normal maintenance (a shaky porch or broken plaster, for example). "Dilapidated" housing does not provide safe and adequate shelter.

Although the Bureau of the Census data can be criticized, they are by far the best available today—most accurate, broadest in scope, and most consistent over time. I emphasize this because a considerable number of self-styled experts consider their lone opinions superior to those of 150,000 trained enumerators. They would justify their conclusion that the city or housing is deteriorating solely on the basis of their visual impressions. This is not a valid way to measure changes in housing quality. The amateur's experience is very limited, his standards cannot be identified, and there is no way of knowing whether his standards change from year to year.

The next time you hear that the city is deteriorating ask: "In what way? By whose standard?"

CONCLUSION

Since 1949 two different methods have been used to grapple with the "problems" of housing and cities. One of these is basically the system of free enterprise, guided by the com-

* "Framework for an Urban Society," "Goals for Americans—The Report of the President's Commission on National Goals" (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 229.

plex interplay of the marketplace. The other force is the Federal urban renewal program guided by overall plans prepared by city planning experts and backed up with the taxpayers' money and the police power of the Government.

The facts tell us that private enterprise has made enormous gains, while the Federal program has not. Contrast, for example, the fantastic increase of 18 million homes in areas outside urban renewal projects with the net decrease of homes within urban renewal projects. Consider also the decrease in low-rent housing and the increase in high-rent housing in the urban renewal areas; urban renewal actually subsidizes high-income groups and hurts low-income groups. Add to this the destruction of businesses and the forcible displacement of people from their homes. The program endangers the right of private property—commercial and residential—in its equating of public interest with public use.

The overall results of the Government program when compared to the results of private forces are negligible. Its overall costs when compared with its results are high. On balance the Federal urban renewal program has accomplished little of benefit in the past and it appears doubtful that it will do better in the future.

However, there are times when participating in a Federal urban renewal project—as a contractor, a banker, or a businessman—may be attractive if only short-run gains or profits are considered. Participation may make it possible for a businessman to get that location he wants from an owner who has been unwilling to sell. It may renovate an adjacent area and thus increase the value of his property. It may eliminate buildings that are visually offensive to him and he may even make some money out of it.

But in supporting the program for these or other reasons, the businessman should be aware that he is supporting a Government program that, in the long run, is detrimental to his own interests. It uses the concept of eminent domain in such a way that private property—business as well as residential—can be taken and resold by the Government to other private persons for their own use simply because it is supposed to be in the public interest. It implies acceptance of the idea that private enterprise cannot work effectively in the field of housing and that Government must intervene, when, in fact, this is not true. It subsidizes some businesses and construction interests that are in direct competition with those of other private businessmen. During execution it lowers the tax base of the city—in some cases perhaps permanently—and thus increases the tax burden for the rest of the city.

And, finally, the businessman may be hurt directly when the local renewal authorities decide that the area in which he is located is blighted. The irony of Washington's urban renewal program is that without the enthusiastic collaboration of many businessmen it would come to a grinding halt.

In my judgment, the program should be repealed now. This could be accomplished simply by not authorizing any new projects. All projects currently under contract could be carried through to completion if the individual cities desired to do so.

As the Greek Philosopher Aristotle stated more than 2,200 years ago: "Even when laws have been written down, they ought not always remain unaltered."

What would be the results of such clear-cut, positive action? Would slums proliferate? Would housing get worse? Would cities die? Clearly, no. The record of what has been achieved outside of the Federal urban renewal program by private forces is concrete evidence of what can be done by an essentially free enterprise economic system. If this is what can be accomplished

by free enterprise, the rational course of action is to encourage it to function, not to attack it or to sabotage it.

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL LOTTERY NEEDED

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, during each of my prior six terms in Congress, I have introduced legislation to establish a national lottery. Despite the fact that each of our NATO allies sponsors a national lottery, the Congress has not even held hearings on my bills. Few of my colleagues have the public courage of their private convictions.

I am hopeful that the success of the New Hampshire lottery will prod some of our reluctant legislators into action. America badly needs a national lottery. It shocks me that so internationally plausible a revenue-raising device has been ignored by the United States. The Federal Government, always on the alert for new revenue sources, has, with typical ineptness, missed the obvious one right under its nose.

Not only will the national lottery raise badly needed revenue—which I estimate at \$10 billion—but it would strike at the heart of organized crime by knocking out crime's financial bulwark. The reasons for a national lottery are many—each complementing the other. To me, they are convincing. I strongly urge the Congress to adopt this much-needed measure now.

NEED FOR REFORMS IN THE METHOD BY WHICH WE ELECT OUR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, in his state of the Union message President Johnson made reference to the need for reforms in the method by which we elect our President and Vice President. He said, specifically:

I will propose reforms in the electoral college leaving undisturbed the vote by States—but making sure no elector can substitute his will for that of the people.

Responsible press statements have indicated that what the President has in mind is a plan for automatically awarding a State's electoral votes to the candidate who wins a majority of the popular vote in the State. The plan would abolish either the function or the whole existence of the electoral college. It would serve to make impossible the election of

unpledged electors and also would prevent an elector pledged to one candidate from switching his vote to another candidate.

In my opinion this plan is a good one. It serves to preserve the integrity of our election system, and should be supported.

However, I believe we need to go beyond that and work for a solution of the electoral college problem which is considerably deeper than the matter of unpledged electors.

The problem has been obvious for some years. And every so often proposals are made and we see some newspaper editorials citing the need for a solution. But we have made no real progress, and progress is overdue. Further delay makes a mockery of our democratic process.

Today I am reintroducing my proposal for a change in our electoral college system. The plan is essentially the same as I put forth in 1961 and in 1963. I urge its consideration at an early date.

We talk about "one man one vote" at the State legislative level, and properly so. Each citizen ought to be able to know that his vote carries the same weight as every other citizen's vote. The Supreme Court has affirmed this principle.

But the fact is that we do not have this system prevailing at the presidential election level. One vote in Minnesota, for example, does not carry the same weight in electing a President as one vote in New York City or in Los Angeles.

What we have in each State is the "winner take all" system. The winning presidential candidate in each State takes all of the State's electoral votes. And the President is actually elected, as we know, by the electoral votes, and not by popular votes at all.

If a presidential candidate carries the State of New York by 500 votes he wins all of New York's 45 electoral votes. But he could carry Alaska by 8,000 votes, and he gets only 3 electoral votes allotted to Alaska.

The 5 largest States have a total of 185 electoral votes, and this gives much greater weight to these big States and to the huge cities within those States as opposed to the other 45 middle-sized and smaller States in the Nation.

Actually, in 14 different presidential elections the man elected President had won only a minority of the popular vote. The Constitution does not make any provision for the "winner take all" electoral system. It simply evolved in practice, and there is no good reason why it should not and could not be changed.

Several specific changes have been proposed. Some feel that we should rely simply on the popular vote alone, and abolish the electoral college altogether.

I prefer a compromise between that plan and our present system. I propose that we retain the electoral college itself with a total of 538 electoral votes. But the system of allocating electoral votes should be improved. Under my plan two electoral votes in each State would be cast for the presidential candidate winning the popular vote in that State. This provision would be in accord with our Federal system which gives each State two Senators in Congress regardless of the State's size.

But then, with 100 of the 538 electoral votes accounted for, plus the 3 from the District of Columbia, the remainder of the electoral votes—435—would be divided according to the ratio of the popular vote in the country as a whole.

This would insure integrity of our system. It would refine our democratic process in a way which is long overdue.

LIMITING THE TENURE OF OUR CONGRESSMEN

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I have once again introduced a proposal, in the form of a constitutional amendment, to limit the tenure of U.S. Senators and Representatives. In operation, this proposal would limit a Member of Congress to 12 consecutive years of service; two Senate terms or six House terms, and then require that he take a 2-year sabbatical leave before he would once again be eligible to serve in our National Legislature.

This proposal, which I have offered in earlier Congresses, has often appeared in lists of "legislation least likely to succeed." And, to that conclusion I must sadly agree. Sadly, I say, because I believe that there is a kernel of real hope in this proposal, hope to improve the operation of our Congress and to help its Members do a better job in framing the policies for our country. Yet, despite the possible help which this amendment might provide, it receives no serious consideration from the Congress and little more from outside these two Chambers.

The kernel of hope which I see is this proposal is in two areas. First, it would help to overcome the detrimental aspects of the seniority system. I see many valid bases for recognizing the length of service in this body and in its committees as one of the factors of leadership. I have defended the system as the best compromise we can achieve under our present rules of operation when shallow criticism calls for scrapping it without offering any valid alternative. The proposal which I have offered would allow a continued use of the seniority system but the chain of seniority would be broken from time to time and greater flexibility would be permitted in congressional leadership.

The second aspect of this hope deals with the work of the individual Congressman. As the name implies, it is the function of Representatives, and no less of Senators, to represent the people from whom they have been sent to Washington. Representation, in this context, has two facets; to represent, the Congressman must use his best abilities in studying and understanding the legislation which is brought before him, and further he must strive to understand the community of which he is a part and which he is called upon to rep-

resent. This does not mean that he is to be a personified public opinion poll. There is more to representation, as the former part of my definition indicates, than being a mirror to the unstudied reactions of one's constituency.

This sabbatical leave would give the chance to the Congressman to get reacquainted with his constituents and their feelings. It would put his feet back on the ground and would put him back into the mainstream of his community. Certainly the experience of recent Congresses, running for 9 and 10 months each year, indicates that there is to be precious little time for such a process of reacquaintance in the normal congressional year. I sincerely believe the Congress would be stronger for having its Members better attuned to the crosscurrents of the districts which they represent.

There is one further facet of this problem of lack of "representation" that should be considered here. During the past few sessions of Congress adjournment did not come until late in the year, long after the date set by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Theoretically, if a Congressman stayed in the Washington area attending the meetings of Congress, this would mean that he would never have much time to return to his district. This could then mean that many of the Representatives and Senators would never see their districts between the time elected and nearly the next time that they had to run. This is not to my mind being "a Representative from," or "a Senator from." Practically, however, a solution has been worked out—the Tuesday-Thursday club—when the work of the Congress really begins on Tuesday and terminates on Thursday, thereby allowing a 4-day recess each week. As a remedy to this weakness, it was last week—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 7, 1965, page 423—that I proposed that the Congress conform to the "work a full week" idea, and adjourn at the proper time.

To my mind, if the Congress worked a full week for a full session, adjourned at the proper time, then a sabbatical such as I am proposing today would be welcomed by the Members.

Perhaps once again it can be said that these proposals are among the least likely to succeed. I hope, however, that they will be given serious consideration by those interested in improving the institution, and making the Congress more representative in these modern times.

A copy of an article that I wrote for the American Legion magazine, January 1964, a reply of Congressman HALE Boggs, and the text of the bill appear, as follows:

SHOULD CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE BE LIMITED TO 12 CONSECUTIVE YEARS?

YES

(By Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, Second District)

The quality of the work of the Congress and, as a result, the functioning of our Federal Government would be improved by requiring Congressmen to take 2 years off after 12 consecutive years of service before they

could once again run for a seat in the Congress.

This idea is not as novel as it might at first seem. The sabbatical, or seventh year leave, is common in our institutions of higher learning. It permits professors a chance to recharge their batteries.

And it is catching hold in other fields. Corporations are using it as a way to refresh their executives, and community charities are putting the idea into use with their boards of directors.

The way limited tenure is employed by charities and business gives a good example of the advantages it offers. It attracts top caliber people to serve by letting them know their tenure is limited; they are not trapped, there is a graceful way for them to step down after giving a certain number of years of service. It requires rotation so that "deadwood" directors can be eased out tactfully, without bruised feelings, when their terms are up. And, in those cases in which the individual maintains a high interest in serving with this charity or organization and it wants him back, he can be named to a new series of terms once the period of required leave has run.

It would work much the same way in the Congress. A Senator or Representative could serve 12 consecutive years—two consecutive terms in the Senate or six consecutive terms in the House if the people elected him each time. He would then have to sit out 2 years before he would once again be eligible for election. But, in addition to the advantages noted above, there are further benefits to be gained from applying his system to the Congress.

First, it would give the individual Member of Congress a chance to get out gracefully. If he wished to continue a political career, it would give him an opportunity to get acquainted with his constituents, and to get his feet back on the ground. In these days of nearly year-round sessions of Congress it is difficult for a Member of Congress to keep in close touch with his people and represent them well. It would also give him the chance to reflect on national issues away from the day-to-day pressures of lawmaking.

Second, it would break the chain of seniority which now concentrates power in the hands of Congressmen from safe districts whose reelection is guaranteed. Posts of leadership, such as committee chairmanships, would be rotated and would gravitate more to ability than political long-livedness.

Finally, the man who really wishes to continue in public service, and whose constituents wish to be represented by him, will be able to return refreshed and give another 12 years service in the Congress.

NO

(By Representative HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, Second District)

No. Congressional service should not be limited to 12 consecutive years for a number of reasons:

1. Governing the most powerful and the most prosperous nation on earth—a nation of 190 million people—and the leader of the free world—is perhaps the most difficult task being undertaken by any group of men in the world today.

As a result, the complex problems confronting the Members of Congress are hard to grasp. The intricacies of international affairs, the problems of the nuclear age, the conservation of our natural resources, the complexities of urban congestion—these are but a few of the complicated fields in which the Congress must make decisions on which the future of the United States depends. Wisdom comes in large measure from experience; of experience, of wisdom, we never have enough.

To deprive the Nation of the service of our wisest, most competent, and most knowledgeable lawmakers at the end of 12 years serv-

ice seems very detrimental to our national welfare.

2. No business, industry, college or other institution in our country would adopt a personnel policy which said, "after each employee has been here 12 years—just long enough to have achieved thoroughly familiarity with his work—he must be discharged for 2 years before being given an opportunity to return, and then only in a junior capacity once again." Yet this is exactly what this proposal would mean for the U.S. Congress.

The late Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn often said that if the people of a congressional district were wise, they would carefully pick a good man as their Congressman, and then elect and reelect him term after term, because the longer a good man serves, the better service he can render to his people and country.

3. Our Government never has all the good men and women it needs. We need more and more talented people who are willing to dedicate their lives to public service.

I am afraid that this proposal would discourage people from considering public service in the Congress as a career. If a man knows that he will not be allowed to remain in Congress more than 12 consecutive years, he probably would be reluctant to give up his livelihood to go to Congress in the first place.

4. This idea of limiting public service is not a new one. In the early days of our Nation, our forefathers tried it. Under the Articles of Confederation, delegates to the Continental Congress could not serve for more than any 3 out of 6 consecutive years. This deprived the Congress of the able services of such delegates as James Madison and others, thus impairing seriously the work of the Congress.

When the Founding Fathers drafted our present Constitution, some delegates proposed to make Members of Congress ineligible for reelection. Remembering the unhappy experience of the Continental Congress, the Founding Fathers rejected this idea without debate or dissent.

I think that we should continue to respect the wisdom of their decision.

H. RES. 95

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-eighth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress, with the following amendments therein as a part thereof, to wit:

In rule XI, strike out clause 23 and insert: "23. The Committee on Rules shall present to the House reports concerning rules, joint rules, and order of business, within three legislative days of the time when ordered reported by the committee. If such rule or order is not considered immediately, it shall be referred to the calendar and, if not called up by the Member making the report within seven legislative days thereafter, any member of the Committee on Rules may call it up as a question of privilege and the Speaker shall recognize any member of the Committee on Rules seeking recognition for that purpose. If the Committee on Rules shall adversely report, or fail to report within twenty-one calendar days after reference, any resolution pending before the committee providing for an order of business for the consideration by the House of any public bill or joint resolution favorably reported by a committee of the House, on days when it is in order to call up motions to discharge committees, it shall be in order for the chairman or any member of the committee which reported such a bill or joint resolution who has been so authorized by said committee to call up for consideration by the House the

resolution which the Committee on Rules has so adversely reported or failed to report, and it shall be in order to move the adoption by the House of said resolution adversely reported, or not reported, notwithstanding the adverse report, or the failure to report, of the Committee on Rules and the Speaker shall recognize the Member seeking recognition for that purpose as a question of the highest privilege. Pending the consideration of said resolution the Speaker may entertain one motion that the House adjourn; but after the result is announced he shall not entertain any other dilatory motion until the said resolution shall have been fully disposed of."

In rule XX, strike out clause 1 and insert:

"1. Any amendment of the Senate to any House bill shall be subject to the point of order that it shall first be considered in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, if, originating in the House, it would be subject to that point: *Provided, however*, That a motion to disagree with the amendments of the Senate to a House bill or resolution and request or agree to a conference with the Senate, or a motion to insist on the House amendments to a Senate bill or resolution and request or agree to a conference with the Senate, shall always be in order if the Speaker, in his discretion, recognizes for that purpose and if the motion is made by direction of the committee having jurisdiction of the subject matter of the bill or resolution."

In rule XXI, strike out clause 1 and insert:

"1. Bills and joint resolutions on their passage shall be read the first time by title and the second time in full, when, if the previous question is ordered, the Speaker shall state the question to be: 'Shall the bill be engrossed and read a third time?', and, if decided in the affirmative, it shall be read the third time by title, and the question shall then be put upon its passage."

INTERNATIONAL HOME LOAN BANK

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest contributions that our country can make in the field of foreign aid is to help underdeveloped countries emulate the success that this country has had in certain areas, and then urge them to understand and then to adapt them to their own way of life. With this thought in mind, I have reintroduced a proposal which I have made in conjunction with a number of my colleagues in the Senate and House over the past several years—an International Home Loan Bank.

This proposal, which is favored by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the U.S. Savings and Loan League—though the Agency for International Development has expressed some reservations—has as its purpose the development of a savings and loan system to promote thrift, encourage homeownership, and aid in the rise of the middle class of people in the underdeveloped countries. The mechanism of this bill, by which these goals would be accomplished, would be an International Home Loan Bank through which financial backing could be given to the developing savings and loan industry abroad.

This bill would utilize the lesson that we learned in our own savings and loan experience. It would provide for an agency to charter, examine, and supervise the local thrift and home financing institutions, corresponding to the functions now performed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for Federal institutions and the State authorities for State-chartered organizations. It would provide these new associations with a facility much like the Federal home loan banks to provide funds to local institutions so they could meet the needs for seasonal and emergency funds. It would establish a facility much like the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to insure funds placed in these associations, and lastly it would provide a facility to insure residential mortgages in a manner similar to the Federal Housing Administration.

Clearly these functions as set forth above would encourage homeownership in the underdeveloped countries. This development would be meaningful even considered apart from any Communist threat that is being experienced in many such countries today. It is a real step forward in the structure of the society of the nation establishing these institutions. It meets problems which exist independent of the cold war, and it envisions the involvement of the people of the recipient nation—indeed their involvement as a primary force in this matter—in the effort to overcome these problems.

I note that the Committee on Banking and Currency held hearings on this matter during the last Congress, on August 22, 23, and September 12, 1963, on H.R. 8143, a bill very similar to the one that I am proposing today. I trust that some legislation on this matter will be forthcoming in this session.

As illustrative of the statements that I have made above, I wish to include at this point an article which appeared in the New York Times on October 21, 1962, which points up the importance of the problem:

SPURS ARE SOUGHT IN LATIN HOUSING (By Philip Shabecoff)

In much of Latin America, a penny saved is a rare coin—and therein lies one of the chief reasons for Latin America's acute shortage of housing.

"There are 18 million Latin American families now living in urban slums who can afford some kind of decent housing," Rodman C. Rockefeller said recently.

The problem, he explained, is that in most areas of Latin America, a lack of individual savings means that mortgages simply are not available for middle and lower class housing.

Mr. Rockefeller, eldest son of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, is vice president in charge of housing for the International Basic Economy Corp. (IBEC). The company, a financing development and investment concern controlled by Rockefeller interests, soon will build its 10,000th home in Puerto Rico and South America.

Although most Latin American governments have set up housing programs, often with grants from U.S. agencies such as the Agency for International Development, millions of people continue to live in tin shacks and apartment house slums. The answer to this blight, Mr. Rockefeller believes, lies in private rather than government housing.

Some 50 percent of South America's urban population earns enough money to amortize mortgages, he asserted. But mortgages generally are available only for luxury housing, and on exorbitant terms.

FEW INDIVIDUALS SAVE

The reason for this, Mr. Rockefeller explained, is that there is little individual saving in Latin America. Inflation and low income levels discourage savings in most of the countries there, and virtually no savings institutions exist in an effective form. And lack of individual savings means a dearth of capital for mortgages.

What is needed in Latin America, Mr. Rockefeller said, is a system of insured savings and loan associations similar to that in this country. But except for recently organized projects in Chile and Peru, these institutions are rare in Latin America.

Help may be on the way, however, as a result of a bill introduced in the Senate on October 2 by Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida.

The legislation, which was designed to help Latin Americans save their own money for private housing, was a casualty of the recent congressional scramble for adjournment and never got out of the Committee on Banking and Currency. However, Senator SMATHERS plans to reintroduce it when the Senate next convenes.

The bill, an amendment to previously proposed legislation to alter the Federal Home Loan Bank Act and the Home Owners Land Act, called for the establishment of an "International Home Loan Bank."

FOREIGN INVESTMENT PERMITTED

Through this bank U.S. savings and loan companies will have the privilege of investing up to 1 percent of their assets in similar institutions in Latin America and elsewhere overseas, laying the groundwork for the establishment of savings and loan systems in those areas.

The bill, which also was sponsored by Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Democrat, of Alabama, is reported to have a good chance of passing in the next session of Congress.

The U.S. savings and loan organizations which might invest in counterpart institutions in South America are regarding the Chilean experiment with keen interest. A little more than a year ago, at the advice of American economic experts, 18 associations were started there under the supervision of a central bank, with American capital serving as seed money.

The associations pay 6 percent interest on savings and charge 10 percent on mortgages, Mr. Rockefeller said. They also operate under an unusual inflation-protection mechanism which adjusts interest and principal on both savings and mortgages on the basis of an index of wages and prices.

By the end of the first year, 23,000 people were participating in the program, and 1,780 mortgages had been approved or were in the process of approval.

DEMAND EXCEEDS BUILDING

Because of the associations, many new houses are being built in Chile. However, there is evidence that the mortgage system has grown faster than the construction business. Demand for houses is far exceeding actual production, Mr. Rockefeller said.

In most cases, he explained, builders are short of sufficient working capital. It is also difficult to convince them that the new system is here to stay and that their profits for building homes will not be wiped out by inflation.

This is where IBEC steps in. The company has built most of its houses in Puerto Rico, but it believes the establishment of savings and loan companies will provide opportunity in South America.

IBEC already has under construction 750 houses in Santiago, Chile, and plans to build

more. Most of the houses are three-bedroom dwellings that sell for \$7,000 to \$8,000. The company also is building in Peru, where two associations have been established, one by a Roman Catholic priest.

One of IBEC's basic functions, Mr. Rockefeller said, is to demonstrate that U.S. industrial methods and techniques are applicable abroad.

"It is not an original idea, but we try to concentrate on businesses, such as housing, that directly affect people. We also make a profit by doing so," he said.

One of these techniques is the IBEC method of home construction. This makes use of a house-sized steel form to mold reinforced concrete on a previously prepared floor slab. Once a site is prepared, the company can produce six houses a day on that site.

PRECAST PANELS HELPFUL

IBEC also uses precast concrete wall panel and roof systems in its housing projects.

Recently, however, IBEC has recognized that its methods are not always applicable in South America. Often, the absence of materials and large-scale demand makes the mass construction method too expensive. Construction also is slowed by government inspection methods and equipment breakdowns. The company, therefore, is beginning to turn to local manual labor as the cheapest method of building in some areas.

As soon as the new bill is passed, Mr. Rockefeller predicted, at least five U.S. savings and loan companies will invest in South American countries. IBEC will be prepared to construct about 2,500 housing units a year to meet the expected demand for homes.

Mr. Rockefeller believes that the middle class housing shortage in Latin America must be alleviated for the security of this country as well as for the needs of the Latin Americans.

"The middle class in Latin America, which certainly has the ability to revolt, has been denied the normal material rewards that the middle class expects in the United States," he said. "While the Latin middle class is loyal to the Western concept of government, this denial puts a tremendous strain on its loyalty."

COMMITTEE ON INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND UNRECOGNIZED GROUPS

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most able definitions of that category of economic entities known as small business is the expression that a small business is one that does not have a Washington representative. Implicit in this definition is the importance to any group in our country, with the ever-increasing role being played by the Federal Government, of having a voice in Washington, a way in which its views on the matters affecting it can be drawn to the attention of America's policymakers.

There are various channels through which these interest groups can make their feelings known. A common way is through the employment of lobbyists and Washington attorneys knowledgeable in the ways of the Congress and the regulatory agencies. The agencies

and departments themselves often act to give a forum to representatives of interest groups in the consideration of matters within their special province.

Similarly, the work of congressional committees in areas of their jurisdiction help to give a voice to the needs and opinions of the groups whose interests are touched by the legislation the committee studies. The Select Committees on Small Business of the House of Representatives and the Senate are excellent examples of this, and go along well with the definition of small business which I noted earlier.

I have today reintroduced a proposal to create in the House of Representatives a Committee on Independent Unions and Unrecognized Groups. The purpose of this proposal is to offer to these organizations a chance to have their interests weighed in with those of the other segments of our society. Just as small business before the advent of the House and Senate select committees, these groups have no representative in Washington assuring that their voices are heard, nor is there any congressional or executive body specifically attuned to meeting their problems.

In many ways these groups can be found parallel to small business. They are generally small, struggling in a competitive world to find a place and often provide an organizational context for a new idea. The idea may be good, perhaps even great, yet without a fair chance of survival in a competitive world, it might be lost. One element of survival in the United States is assuring that full consideration be given the interests of the group involved. With the many voices clamoring to be heard in the process of making public policy, it is too easy to overlook one which does not have an adequate sounding board on the Washington scene. This committee, which I suggest, would offer the type of sounding board which would permit the interests of these groups to be given the recognition they deserve.

An example of this is found in the labor field. Concern is properly given the AFL-CIO as the largest representative of organized labor in our country. Similarly the large independent unions, an example being the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, gain recognition. Yet, some 2.7 million workers are joined in small, independent unions whose voices are seldom heard in deliberations of the Congress or policies of the executive departments and agencies. Beyond this number are many other workers, not organized into unions as such but represented to some extent by a formal grouping. It is to give a forum to these groups that I offer the proposal for the Committee on Independent Unions and Unrecognized Groups.

As I mentioned before, I introduced this legislation in the last Congress. I also had the occasion to comment further on the situation in some remarks on the floor of the House under the title "The Case for the Independent Unions" which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 110, part 4, page 4329. Under unanimous consent, I include

those remarks in the RECORD at this point:

THE CASE FOR THE INDEPENDENT UNIONS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, we have shown a proper concern in our society for the problem of small business, recognizing that small business is the lifeblood of our economic endeavor and that big business which is also beneficial, started as small business. However for some reason or other we have not shown a similar concern for the counterpart of small business, the small or independent unions.

The AFL-CIO represents approximately 15 million workers out of our work force of around 70 million. Probably 30 million workers are members of unaffiliated independent unions. The voice and point of view of the independent unions is little heard in the councils of the great Government far away in Washington. Indeed, the Department of Labor is oversolicitous of big labor whose voice is heard in all its corridors. There are many areas where big labor is the opponent of independent unions, just as big business in some areas is in opposition to small business. It is important that the voice of independent labor be heard, particularly when it expresses a point of view contrary to that of big labor.

Part of the difficulty is that the story of the independent union labor movement has not been told widely enough. I was particularly happy, therefore, to see in the New York Herald Tribune of February 23, 1963, an article entitled "The Case for the Independent Unions" which tells part of the story, and refers to a recent book written by Prof. John J. Collins telling the story. I am placing this material in the RECORD because this story needs to be broadcast throughout our land and certainly needs to be known in the Congress.

I also wish to again call to my colleagues attention House Resolution 137 which I re-introduced in this Congress to create a House Committee on Independent Unions and unrecognized labor groups to particularly look after and give a forum to the problems of independent unions and nonunion workers. The remarks I made at the time of introducing this legislation appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 109, part 1, page 527.

"CASE FOR THE INDEPENDENT UNIONS

"(By Walter Hamshar)

"Since 1945 the Nation's maritime industry has been wracked by 38 major seamen's strikes. During the same 19-year period, a sizable group of American-flag tankers has never been held up by a work stoppage because their licensed officers and unlicensed crewmen are members of independent unions.

"John J. Collins, a professor of history at Fordham University, who has been the adviser to those unions since 1938, tells the story of independent unions in 'Never Off Pay,' a book published last week by the Fordham University Press.

"The title of the book is the keynote of Mr. Collins' many arguments in favor of independent unions in an industry which only lately has won for itself the title of 'Strike-Strangled Merchant Marine.'

"Independent unions, meaning organizations which are not industrywide affiliates of the AFL-CIO are in a better position to bargain for their members, Mr. Collins argues.

"Each [union] has the right to, and does, negotiate agreements which to them seem most suitable to their type of operation," he said. "This control at the local level and the ability to tailor make an agreement is one of the reasons why an independent union confined to the employees of one company or one plant is so often preferred by those employees to the large affiliated union."

"Officers of small independent unions are more receptive to ideas from their members

and usually, through their own experience, are familiar with the peculiar problems of the membership. This is not true of large unions, Mr. Collins contends, where the leadership is too frequently influenced by political motives rather than the needs of members. Thus, in independent unions there are no propaganda buildups by power-hungry officers; no strikes called to strengthen the leaders' political power; no theatrics of marathon bargaining, and no feuds which result in costly work stoppages without gains to the members.

"In their use of commonsense, the independent tanker associations have never sought to push for an economic gain which, if achieved, would have become a pyrrhic victory," he stated. "Perhaps it is this quality of commonsense that can be exercised so widely in a nonpolitical atmosphere that has enabled these associations to have had such unique success."

"While Mr. Collins attributes the success of the independence among crewmen to commonsense collective bargaining which has produced high pay and working conditions without work stoppages, he does not highlight two other factors which have also contributed to the independent union's prosperity.

"First, there was the willingness of the big oil companies to negotiate agreements which gave the independent unions better contracts than those of the large affiliated organizations. Mr. Collins relates that these agreements were negotiated. But the generosity of the companies is implied, not described.

"The second factor is that the big unions have created the climate under which the independents exist. The reader cannot help but get the impression that cordial relations between companies and independent unions are actually the result of the existence of larger affiliated labor organizations poised to organize dissatisfied tanker crewmen. It is to the advantage of the companies to encourage independents, Mr. Collins said. As long as the powerful, big unions stand in the offing, they will continue to prefer the independents.

"But there never were grounds for the charges so frequently made by the big unions that the independents were company organizations. These charges have been thoroughly investigated on several occasions by the National Labor Relations Board and found to be without foundation.

"The independent unions cover officers and unlicensed seamen in the fleets of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the Socony Vacuum Fleet Co., Tidewater, and the officers of Texaco and Cities Service.

"These companies, as well as their crewmen, have benefited from the contracts with independent unions. The advantages go beyond the avoidance of the periodic strikes which have plagued relations between maritime management and unions.

"One important benefit enjoyed by the oil companies is that they are not required to hire their ship personnel through union hiring halls. This requirement by the big unions has given them a powerful weapon in securing the loyalty and obedience of their members.

"A second benefit is that the welfare and pension plans of the independents are confined to company personnel. This has encouraged continuity of service within the companies. It also has encouraged a company loyalty rather than a loyalty to unions contrasted to the psychological impact on the seaman in large unions who get their welfare or pension payments from the NMU or SIU plans.

"Mr. Collins' book shows that these two factors, never opposed by the independents, have done much to promote cordial relations between management and labor. So cordial have these relations been that the National

Maritime Union, the Seafarers International Union, or any of the large ship officers unions have been unable to make any headway in organizing within the membership of the independents."

IMPROVING THE BOND MARKET FOR MUNICIPALS

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, as a recognition of the importance of bond financing for State and local governmental bodies, our present Internal Revenue Code provides that interest on these obligations shall be free from Federal income taxation. This exemption from taxation is effective in making State and local government obligations attractive to investors and permits their sale at lower interest than would be possible otherwise.

The role of bond financing is not difficult to trace. School bond issues, sewer bond issues, and hundreds of others are commonplace in financial circles. The need for adequate debt financing capital to our State and local governmental bodies cannot be overemphasized, and the availability of this capital at advantageous interest rates, made possible by the tax-exempt nature of their interest, depends upon a ready market for these bonds.

I have today reintroduced a bill which would help expand and improve the market for municipals. While individual bondholders may receive the interest from municipals tax free, when this interest is channeled to them through a corporate investing mechanism the investors fail to get the full benefit of tax exemption. The interest comes to the investment corporation tax free, just as it does to individuals, but there is no carry-through provision. Thus, the entire income of the corporation, from tax-free and taxable sources, is merged and divided and the entire amount received by each shareholder in the investment corporation is fully taxed. What my bill suggests is that there be allowed exclusion on the part of the individual taxpayer of his pro rata share of the tax-exempt interest received by the corporation thereby giving the taxpayer the direct benefit of the tax-exempt status of these securities.

By making municipal bonds more attractive to investment corporations, which control a very large amount of capital, a better market will be created for these securities and the problem of financing State and local government will be eased.

Today I am reintroducing the bill which was H.R. 3062 in the last Congress.

OUR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. YOUNGER] may

extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I know of no one better able to give us a prognosis of what our transportation system will be like in the year 2000 than Mr. Morris Forgash, president of the United States Freight Co.

Mr. Forgash outlined his ideas in a speech before the Second Annual European Regional Conference of the National Defense Transportation Association at the Hotel Intercontinental in Frankfurt, Germany, on October 30, 1964.

His very interesting and provocative predictions follow:

TRANSPORTATION—YEAR 2000

(By Morris Forgash, president, United States Freight Co.)

I deeply appreciate the opportunity to meet with you and to participate in your interesting and challenging program. To all those responsible for the staging of this Second Annual European Regional Conference of NDTA, I extend congratulations upon an excellent idea splendidly executed.

No oracle, prophet, or seer was ever called upon to deal with a more elusive or demanding subject than the one assigned to me. I have no occult powers but I speak with utmost assurance, for if time proves me wrong I will very likely be out of the jurisdiction when the verdict is brought in.

Transportation in the year 2000. Why should any of us have any concern today about mobility in a world that by the year 2000 may be only a tiny way-station in a universe of worlds—or, by accident or design, a cloud of dust in the galaxy of limitless space? Because we have faith. Faith that we can shape the course of future events and write on the scrolls of time the terms of our own legacy for ourselves and our posterity.

Essayist William Hazlitt said man is the only animal that laughs and weeps for he is the only animal that is struck by the difference between what things are and what they ought to be. This awareness of imperfection is responsible for the fact that man is the only animal that has acquired the ability to modify his own environment. And in straining at the leash of his environment man has achieved a measure of his manifest and only laudable destiny—civilization.

Kipling wrote that transportation is civilization. He was not quite right. Transportation certainly has paced civilization from the time when man first came to inhabit the earth. But transportation is an instrumentality which produces nothing in itself. Transportation is the mobility of human resources but humanity charts its own course. Transportation can carry us over any horizon but what we find there we bring in our own hearts.

How will we go in the year 2000? By what media, responsive to what energy, with what degree of dispatch will people and the people's resources then be moved from one place to another? The intelligence accumulated through all the millenniums of recorded and derivative history sheds only a flickering light on the mists that shroud the path of transport during the next 35 years. But we must nevertheless scan the pages of history if we expect to sit in the jury box of time.

Where will we go in the year 2000? Over what horizons, to what destinations will the restless race of man then be traveling to make another rendezvous with destiny?

If we are to find any answers to the questions I have posed, we must realize that the

caliber of history is our only tool of measurement and our only certainty is that there will be change. The fact of change is immutable. It is only the acceleration or rate of change with which we must be concerned as we try to illuminate the road to the future with the torchlight of the past.

THE DAWN OF TRANSPORTATION

Why should it be difficult to anticipate developments that may reasonably be expected to transpire in transportation in the next 35 years? Can we not make a simple projection based on the rate of progress in the past? The calendar measures time as the earth turns and 35 years is an imperceptible speck in the spectrum of history. The beginnings of civilization can be traced back at least a million years, and in that perspective we are dealing with a period of time that would transpire many times over during the next tick of the clock.

The problem is not so simple. Progress is not measured by the calendar but by human accomplishment. And if it be taken that man has lived on earth for a million years it follows that for the first 990,000 years his progress in transportation was absolutely nil. During all of that time he walked on the legs he was born with and what he transported he carried in his arms. For it was only about 10,000 years ago, give or take a few hundred, that man first conceived the idea of employing animals as a media of transport. This oldest form of transportation has survived to this day—the ox, the camel, the elephant, the reindeer, the dog, and the horse are still important carriers.

A historic breakthrough in transportation occurred when man discovered the secret of propulsion by animal, giving us the standard of measurement called horsepower. During the next 3,000 or 4,000 years such marvelous inventions as the sled, the raft, the dug-out, and the canoe made their appearance and added immeasurably to the mobility of humanity. Then came the sail—first instrument of transport to harness the forces of nature to man's bidding. Wonders were unceasing.

The wheel—there is an invention to remember! It still is a nominee for the greatest discovery of the human race. The wheel evolved only about 5,000 or 6,000 years ago. It will stand forever for the first revolution in transportation. But giddy as the pace of progress in transportation had become, wheel and sail were destined to continue to be powered by wind and muscle for another 5,000 years or more. This does not detract from the significance of those fabulous instrumentalities. They made it possible for man to explore, to colonize, and in a degree to civilize the globe on which he lived. Of course they also made it possible for him to annihilate people, to destroy civilizations, and to topple the world into dark ages. But in the slow and painful process of recovery from the consequences of his own folly man added to the sum of human intelligence, and as he marched forward the chapters of transportation history covered less time and embraced ever greater accomplishment.

TRANSPORTATION FINDS MECHANICAL POWER

The 35 years that lie immediately ahead cannot reasonably be focused against the million years of man's sojourn on earth, or against the 10,000 years since the discovery of horsepower, or even against the 5,000 years since the advent of the wheel and sail. Change has compounded the rate of change with such astonishing rapidity that such comparisons are no longer valid. Actually, all we are talking about is simply what remains of two centuries of transportation progress.

For it was not until after the beginning of the last century, less than 165 years ago, that the era of transportation in the accepted sense began. The age of mechanical power—the goal toward which man had

been struggling since he was first invested with the power of rational thought—had its birth in the last century. When steampower was first successfully employed as a propellant of the instrumentalities of transport man crashed through a barrier which had defied the ages and eluded countless generations of highly intelligent and ingenious men.

The year 2000 seems a more distant target of speculation when it is realized that in point of time 35 years is 20 percent of the entire era of transportation. It seems more distant still when it is appreciated that as time has marched on progress in transportation has compressed centuries into decades, decades into years, and years into days, so that what we and those who come after us may expect to witness in 35 years may make everything that has been developed heretofore as rudimentary as the canoe.

How has transportation gone since the paddle wheels of "Fulton's Folly" churned dreams into realities 157 years ago? Well, steamship and iron horse served the 19th century very well, but during all that time dreamers who knew that this was not the outer periphery of man's environment were at work on other things. Self-propelled land vehicles were sputtering about on the streets and roads causing amusement and some consternation before the end of the last century. When, a few years later, the internal combustion engine made these monsters of the road practical a new dimension in mobility was created.

But as the world spun into the present century man had not yet realized his oldest dream—he had not found his wings—he was still confined to the surface of the globe. Then at Kitty Hawk, in North Carolina, on December 17, 1903, when some of us in this room had already been born, the Wright Brothers inaugurated the age of flight.

What secrets of mobility then remained to be wrested from nature? With great efficiency and dispatch people and things could be transported anywhere on the surface of the earth or in the earth's atmosphere. For half a century the prevalent view was that transportation had crossed its last horizon and that the future was for improvement of existing media. Improvement there certainly was.

The diesel engine vastly increased the economy and efficiency of railroading. World War I speeded the inauguration of the trucks as a carrier of freight. Improved roads and better automobiles put the world on rubber tires. The 1940's ushered in the jet age in air transport. In 1954 the atom was harnessed to transportation with the launching of the *Nautilus*, first atomic-powered submarine. Nuclear-powered merchant shipping was inaugurated in 1959 when the *SS Savannah* was launched. Then the hydrofoil, a ship on stilts, made its appearance.

But 50 years of tinkering with the same media of transport was all that the modern mind could take. New frontiers were beckoning genius and enterprise. A sort of in-between machine—an air-cushion vehicle which rolls on a cushion of air over land, sea, swamp, sand, or snow made its appearance in the sixth decade of this century and soon may be cutting across all lines of existing transportation, revolutionizing all modes.

The air-cushion phenomenon did not, however, take us across an unknown border—it simply created a new dimension of transport. The latest barrier of mobility was crashed in 1957, with the orbiting of the space vehicle Sputnik I. Four years later, in 1961, the first earth man made the first trip to outer space and returned. He was not yet an explorer of the universe—he had only invaded the majesty of space. That is something which may be corrected very soon. On July 31, 1964, the spacecraft Ranger VII zeroed in for a crash landing on the moon,

sending back to earth more than 4,000 pictures of that inscrutable globe.

OF PROGRESS, DREAMS AND PERSEVERANCE

That, in brief compass, is a panoramic view of where we stand in transportation today. How and where do we go from here? We go however and wherever we have the vision and determination to go. For all the progress which we have made to this point in time has been the slow and tardy consequence of long-held dreams. Let history speak to that point for just a moment.

When the steam engine gave birth to the mechanical age in transport just over a century and a half ago it simply represented the practical application of a principle that had been known for hundreds of years. Hero of Alexandria, Greek scientist of the second century before Christ, developed a toy-like machine for deriving power from thermal energy. A man named Savery developed a steam engine for pumping water from mines in 1698. When James Watt patented his very practical steam engine in 1769 he was only improving on an engine developed by Thomas Newcomen in 1705. In 1707, a hundred years before Robert Fulton's *Clermont* made its maiden run, Denis Papin of France built and launched the steam-powered *Cassel* in Germany. Angry boatmen, fearing for their livelihood, destroyed Papin's boat and nearly killed its inventor. Where would we stand now if modern transportation had been inaugurated just 100 years earlier, as it would have been except for an accident of history?

The idea of human flight has fascinated all peoples throughout the ages. The famous legend of Daedalus and Icarus, related by Ovid, is only one of a multitude of tales of human flight that date back more than 6,000 years. Magic carpets, flying chariots, flying horses, characterized all mythologies. By the 13th century A.D., man had begun seriously to try to make his dreams of flight come true. Roger Bacon anticipated the balloon and suggested heavier-than-air craft propelled by flapping wings.

Leonardo da Vinci discovered the helicopter principle of vertical lift from rotating wings, and his model helicopters actually flew. About 1490 he designed a man-carrying flying machine, but his craft was never built because da Vinci undoubtedly realized that there was then no source of power capable of lifting it. Around the turn of the 19th century Sir George Cayley began investigations of flight which formed the basis of modern aerodynamics. One of his gliders carried a man a distance of 900 feet. It was 500 years after human flight was theoretically demonstrated to be possible before the Wright brothers made flight a reality.

Jet propulsion, which began to revolutionize air transport less than a quarter of a century ago, is founded on laws formulated by Sir Isaac Newton in the 17th century. But the theory was not then new. At least 100 years B.C. the Alexandrian philosopher, Hero, designed and demonstrated a jet engine. All those things which may transpire between now and the year 2000 might have happened long ago if man had mobilized the resources to capitalize on his own inventiveness several hundred years sooner than he did.

Rocket propulsion is even older than the jet. The Chinese are said to have employed the principle of the rocket several centuries B.C. Rockets were used in the War of 1812. The bazooka of World War II was only one of a number of types of rocket used in that conflict. Developed as implements of war, rockets now have become symbols of the conquest of outer space. Perhaps it is as well for mankind that the destructive potential of the rocket was not recognized sooner, but the inertia of the human mind is responsible for failure to have recognized its peaceful uses long ago.

Incidentally, Ranger VII was not the first projectile to land on the moon—at least in the imagination of man. Jules Verne's projectile carried three men to the moon in 1863. The journey required approximately 4 days, or 96 hours. Ranger VII made the trip in 68 hours and 35 minutes. Who is to fault Jules Verne for a miscalculation of 80 hours? After all, his ship got stuck for a while in the "weightless" band which, perhaps out of sheer perversity, he pictured as only a narrow strip between earth and moon. And he brought his men back to earth because his capsule was equipped with rockets to kick it out of the moon's orbit and back into earth's gravity.

The most awesome secret which man has extracted from nature is the release of energy from the atom. This knowledge, which is no longer a secret, can incalculably advance the cause of civilized man, or it can render him completely obsolete. This most potent of all sources of energy was not a sudden discovery. The Greek philosophers Epicurus and Democritus postulated the atomic concept at least 300 years before the Christian era. Beginning as early as A.D. 1500, a long succession of professional people contributed to the accumulated knowledge which led to the operational use of the atom—Boyle, Newton, Dalton, the Curies, Rutherford, Becquerel, the enigmatic Albert Einstein, and a host of others.

The instinct for staying alive provided the ultimate incentive which led to the discovery of the means for extinguishing all life. In the dark days of World War II the United States and her allies, impressed with the knowledge that the enemy was as well aware as they of the potential of the atom, simply decided to apply the old axiom of getting there "fustest with the mostest." Mobilizing the scientific intelligence of the allied nations into the greatest scientific and engineering project of all time—the Manhattan project—the atomic bomb was developed in a period of about 4 years. The dropping of the first atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, is fixed as the dawn of the atomic age. That is not quite accurate. A test bomb was exploded at Alamogordo, N. Mex., on July 16, 1945, and it was on that date that a handful of men assumed the fearful responsibility of releasing a force which even they could not be sure would not obliterate the world.

So it has happened that man has dreamed, then theorized about his dreams, then studied the scientific basis of his theories, and centuries later other generations have made his dreams come true. And the important consideration always has been not what man has discovered but the uses which he makes of his discoveries. The greatest challenge facing the peoples of the world today is how they shall use the sources of energy represented by the atom. Depending on how that challenge is met we will have a better world or no world at all.

THE WORLD AND THE PEOPLE, A.D. 2000

On this philosophic note I think I should turn from the pages of history on which the accomplishments of man in his search for mobility have already been written and, with the temerity if not the foresight of a Jules Verne, undertake to project history a short distance into the future.

The ingredients or "mix" with which we have to work as we stir the brew of transport in the cauldron of tomorrow are railroads, highway carriers, water-borne vessels, aircraft, pipelines, and those exotic developments still standing on the horizon—air-cushion vehicles, hovercraft, monorails, pneumatic tubes, rockets, continuous belts and others not yet categorized.

Will all of these existing and embryonic media of transport still be in use in the year 2000? My answer is: Yes, and more. But some of them will not look the same. If,

perchance, any agency of transport that we know today joins the pony express and other museum pieces of transport history it will be because it failed to accept the inevitability of change.

Standing clear among the unknown quantities which cloud the horizon of the year 2000 are certain things which we can postulate as fact. The people will determine for themselves the kind and quantity of transportation they want—and what they demand they will get. The engineering has been done, the horizons are unlimited and the choice is the people's choice. We knew this too: There will be a great many more people in the world of A.D. 2000 than there are today, and they will have a great deal more leisure time to dispose of, en masse and per capita. They will know more about their world and themselves than the people of today. They will be able to communicate, face to face through space, with other people everywhere. They will be able to read the news media of the world on screens in the comfort of their own homes. These people will have different tastes, a different outlook, a different philosophy of life, leisure, civilization, and the dignity of man.

We will be wise to put on some brakes on the exploding population, but we will have no choice except to support and transport what the world produces and requires. The world population of 3.2 billion is increasing at a rate that will cause it to very nearly double in 35 years. That means 5 to 6 billion people in the year 2000. There will be neither the need nor the opportunity for that many people to work a 5-day, 40-hour week. A 3- or 4-day, 20-hour workweek will be standard. Six billion people with 4 days of leisure each week adds up to a great deal of leisure.

The time was not far back when anybody who was not a member of the "leisure classes" would turn aside from his daily pursuits only on special holidays of which there were few. This was by design as well as necessity. The old saying, "The Devil finds work for idle hands to do" sprang from a popular belief that too much leisure would expose the average man to the temptations of evil. Leisure was for the rich. In the middle ages the creators of the world, the artists, writers, sculptors, architects, were not expected to earn their livelihood by toil and trade. They were patronized by those who were born to blood and wealth. Whatever the fault of such a system it is a fact that it spawned the great Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries which changed the course of history and immeasurably enriched the lives of men everywhere.

But in the next 35 years we will experience a new renaissance, kindled not by patronage but by opportunity—the opening of new vistas to a new leisure class which will embrace the whole population not just the upper crust. Leisure and the economic freedom to enjoy it will come to the "common man." In the United States the average family income will be at least \$15,000 a year, which will be commensurate with the gross national product of \$2 trillion per year which will maintain in the year A.D. 2000. In Europe and other places in the world comparable advances will be made.

Not only will the average citizen living in the year 2000 have more leisure during his working years, he will retire at an earlier age with guaranteed minimum income that will permit him to live in comfort and enjoy the finer things of life. I foresee, for that time, a voluntary retirement age of 55 and a retirement income of \$500 per month. With an estimated population of 350 million in the United States, there will be upward of 45 million persons of age 55 years and over receiving retirement payments in excess of \$130 billion annually. Not only will this add an entirely new layer of consumer spending to our economy, but of particular significance is the fact that the availability of

these pension dollars will have been insured by prior funding. Therefore, we are contemplating in excess of \$130 billion of additional consumer spending that will not be dependent upon the year-to-year prosperity of our economy, but instead will act as a stabilizer and a deterrent against business depressions.

All of these factors will free the resources of the human mind and rekindle the instincts of the human spirit so as to bring about not only a renaissance of culture and civilization but a closer unity of governments and peoples. The curiosity and desire for enrichment which leads the people of one nation to travel to far lands will cause the people of those lands to reciprocate. The barriers to world travel will be eliminated. The complicated visa systems will disappear and a single document, issued by a world organization, will be acceptable.

Ideologies and concepts which offer the people utopia in the distant future in return for sacrifice and the loss of personal identity in the present will have little appeal in a world where the people have already created their own utopia without the sacrifice of human dignity.

Trade and tariff barriers will crumble before the needs and desires of peoples drawn closer together by the common bonds of understanding and the ability to communicate and move swiftly across international boundaries. Geographic affinity will breed political, sociological, and moral affinity among nations and populations. The relationships among nations will improve, and the emphasis on sovereign rights will diminish as the common goals of humanity become visible to more people. Common control of the instrumentalities of destruction, cherished by all men of good will, will cease to be a mirage and will become a reality when we achieve that unity of purpose without which we know that none will survive.

Confederations of nations will develop in direct ratio to the infusion of understanding and the dissipation of fear of aggression. Neighbors quarrel and insulate themselves from each other because of lack of understanding and as transportation and communication shrink the physical world the bonds of understanding will be strengthened.

In undertaking to project the course of transportation to the year 2000 we must take these political, social, economic, and moral factors into account. For as the people shape a better world they will create the demand which will insure the ultimate in mobility.

What will the people demand—and demanding get—in the way of personal transport in the year 2000? Curiously enough there may be less demand for commutation and business travel than there is today. The reason—communication. People come together to promote enterprise because they have a need to communicate. But when everybody is equipped with a Dick Tracy wrist radio and wide-screen, closed-circuit TV is a commonplace fixture of every business organization there will be very little need to commute in order to communicate. The board chairman will call his meeting to order in his own living room. The secretary will dictate the minutes into an automatic machine which will file them for all future reference and reproduce copies instantly on demand. Surely there will be less need for people to congregate together in cities when instantaneous and universal communication is perfected.

THE AGE OF HYPERSONIC FLIGHT

But business is one thing and leisure is another and man will always want to go places to see an art treasure or an opera—to sun, surf, and chase golf balls. Knowing that distance is no longer a matter of miles but of time he will demand the ultimate in speed and the airlines will oblige. When the

"man on the street"—any street—in the year 2000 decides to take his lady for a night "on the town" he will offer her a choice of Paris, Rome, or Reno. A weekend at the beach of the Sioux City set may mean Catalina or the Riviera, Miami Beach or Trave-munde.

The supersonic airliner will not serve the day we are talking about. Of course the supersonic flying machine will still be with us. In fact it will be standard among the transports that ply the earth's atmosphere, and mach 3 speeds will be at the minimum not the maximum end of the scale.

The man in a hurry will take a rocket in the year 2000. In our preoccupation with space travel and exploration of the universe we have given too little attention to the very practical potentials of the rocket for transport on earth. In the interest of security we have developed rockets that can hit any target on earth. All that remains is to adapt the craft to carry a different cargo.

Without hesitation I predict that in the year 2000 people and things will be transported between all the more distant points on earth by rocket-powered craft. Instead of the 2,000 miles an hour already known to be a practicable speed we will achieve a speed of perhaps 20,000 miles per hour.

THE IRON HORSE IN THE ATOMIC ERA

Rockets to railroads is quite a jump, but let's consider the future of the mode of transport that on the land mass of the earth has the most illustrious past. In most places in the world the railroad has occupied the center of the stage of land transport during almost the entire history of the era of modern transportation. Why? Because it creates less propulsive resistance over a wider range of speeds than any other mode of transport. In other words a railroad uses less horsepower in relation to load carried than any other form of land transportation. Ironically, this colossus of mobility, conqueror of time, terrain, and distance, has run a troubled course for a long time. Everywhere except in the United States and a few other countries it has become necessary or expedient for Government to manage and maintain the railroads in order to save for the people the only mode of transport capable of fully serving their needs. For my purposes today I need not explore the reasons for this enigma. There is nothing in the picture that modernization of thinking and method, and aggressive exploitation of inherent advantages, will not cure. And the railroads will survive because we cannot afford to let them die.

But the railroad that greets the 21st century will have only vestigial resemblance to the industry of today. Today's railroad is the most efficient instrumentality yet invented for moving goods between given terminals, but things that are shipped do not all originate or find their destination at rail terminals. Traffic moves between the suburbs of St. Louis and the outskirts of Baltimore or Bremerhaven. Railroad transport has to be harmonious with all forms of transportation, land, sea, and air, so that when goods are put into one end of the transit pipeline they will come out of the other and not get stuck in the joints.

Traditional methods established during a century and a quarter of proud history are not easily broken, but the railroads are slowly yet surely making their equipment compatible, interchangeable, and versatile. Long before the year 2000 the boxcar will have completely disappeared. Everything except commodities requiring specialized equipment—grain, ore, lumber—will move in containers that will hardly interrupt their journey as they are transferred swiftly from highway to rail or ship or air for continuous movement from the door of the shipper to the platform of the consignee. One bill of lading and one rate will apply to the move-

ment of anything from anywhere to anywhere else. It is in these areas that the freight forwarder will play the indispensable role in coordinating the services of the underlying modes of transport.

More dramatic will be the breakthroughs in power, speed, efficiency, and the pattern of rail operations. All locomotives will be nuclear powered. For this and other reasons locomotives will be wider and tracks will be widened. Tracks also will be straighter and grades will be reduced to a minimum. With today's techniques of earthmoving there is no need to run over a mountain. Speeds of as high as several hundred miles per hour may be attained and consistently maintained, if not on rails then on air cushions or monorails.

Cars will be cut out, switched (sideways), and loaded and unloaded automatically by radio-controlled devices. Yards and humps, for which there will be only minimal necessity, will be completed automated and computer controlled. Somebody may ride the locomotive in token to tradition but he will have little to do. Arrivals and departures will be scanned on closed-circuit TV. Radar will measure distance to obstacles and signal automatic retarders on the tracks which will prevent collisions.

Passenger and freight trains will effectuate a compatible marriage long before A.D. 2000. People pods will be whisked from convenient locations in the major cities and deposited by helicopter on special flatcars to ride in streamlined comfort with the less distinguished freight. Those who wish to insure their continuous mobility will be able to drive their own automobiles onto a special rail car and go up to the passenger lounge above. The speed, comfort, and convenience of this combined form of travel will make it attractive to a wider range of patrons than simply the people who have an antipathy for those "flying contraptions."

In the United States, at least, there will be fewer railroads—perhaps three or four systems at the most. There will be a greater number of main-line tracks and practically no feeder lines. Archaic regulations which have prevented the acquisition of other media of transportation will have been swept aside to make way for progress. Rail movements will be confined to the area where rail transport is most efficient and feeder service will be performed by truck, helicopter, or air-cushion machine, whether these supplemental services are performed by the railroad, the shipper, or by a carrier of different ownership.

The iron horse, fascinator of the youth of yesterday, is not about to ride into the sunset like the heroes of old. With renewed vigor this trusty steed is about to charge the dawn.

HIGHWAY TRANSPORT—ON, UNDER, AND ABOVE GROUND

First to successfully challenge the supremacy of the railroad in almost half a century was the motor carrier—automobile and truck. The private automobile, later joined by the bus and the airline, made the once profitable rail passenger business a deficit operation. Then, beginning about 35 years ago, the motortruck began to eat into the rail freight business with an ever-increasing appetite. We have been content to try to referee the fight between the modes by regulation in the United States whereas most governments have found it necessary to take stronger measures.

There is a place in the future for both road and rail transport and by one means or another each will find its economic sphere. My concern now is to highlight some of the dramatic developments in highway transport which I think the next three and a half decades will unveil.

Versatility is the lever which hoisted motor transport into its position of eminence. The

truck brought transportation to the door of the patron. The automobile made every man his own charioteer. The maneuverability of each was limited only by the availability of a street or way upon which to run. That, it turns out, has come to be quite a problem. We have built vehicles at a faster rate than we have built highways to accommodate them. City streets are not elastic. In the United States we are at the midpoint of the greatest public works project ever undertaken in the annals of time—a 16-year project to construct 41,000 miles of interstate and defense highways. We are on schedule, but already we are making plans to feed new mileage into the system.

So swiftly does the magic wand of time now alter the face of transportation that motor transport, circa 2000, will bear as little resemblance to that of today as Cinderella's coach and six to a pumpkin and six white mice. Mammoth truck and midget auto will no longer vie for position on the highways, for private and commercial vehicles will move on separate ways. These thoroughfares will be laid out side by side or double or triple decked with one deck above and one below the surface. The arteries for trucks will be freed of obstructions which now limit the size of rig and load.

Highway travel will still frequently be bumper to bumper but traffic will move at high speeds with complete safety because of the built-in control devices of radar and electronics to regulate speed and prevent collisions. Trucks and autos will stop themselves before they collide with another object.

We will have advanced highways equipped with radio beams so that drivers can put their vehicles on automatic pilot. Between certain important centers there may be conveyor networks. Vehicles will be automatically whisked onto the system at terminals and will ride a belt or electrified rail to an exit point where they will automatically be discharged.

The truck train will be as common in the year 2000 as the rail freight train is today. Five, six, or even more bottoms will be moved as a unit, pulled by one huge tractor or by a tractor and one or more automatically controlled booster units. Some highway trains will be made up of self-propelled units, all controlled by the driver of the leading vehicle. Self-propelled units will add great maneuverability. The consist of the train can be changed by adding and dropping units at interchange points along the superhighway.

Nuclear propulsion for trucks, to say nothing of automobiles, seems a rather remote possibility today, but nuclear energy certainly will be harnessed to the larger units of A.D. 2000, and even more exotic forms of power will be in vogue. We have already unlocked the secret of taking energy from the sun, and I confidently believe that private automobiles will, in time, be powered by solar energy, which will constantly restore itself from the rays of the sun.

Metropolitan area transit has reached a saturation point and there is no place for it to go now except up, or down, or both. First of all, trucks will be banned from city streets. From terminals in the outskirts goods will be transported to and from points in the city through pneumatic tubes, by helicopter, or in some other fashion. Monorails high in the air, or "people pipelines" running underground will relieve the congestion which is choking our cities to death. We will not, like the author of Dick Tracy, wait for the people on the moon to show us how to construct individual air cars for personal transport. The town car of tomorrow will look more like a flying saucer than like a pullman car on rubber tires, and it will be able to park on the roof or the balcony, or simply remain suspended in the air.

OF PIPELINES AND THINGS

The pipeline or underground conduit, already a major instrumentality of transport, will be in much wider use and will have a much wider range of usefulness in the year 2000. Not only will the pipeline be used to relieve the traffic of city streets—it will be employed to move all types of commodities over long distances. Coal slurry has been transported by pipeline. In Canada plans are underway to build a pipeline to carry wood chips. Britain's Transport Minister has announced that a tunnel under the English Channel will join England and France within 10 years. As land becomes more valuable for other purposes transit pipelines will become more prevalent.

Incidentally, coal and petroleum may be too valuable to use as fuel by the year 2000. As a source for the manufacture of synthetics and a wide range of things which come from other sources today, these products will be precious gems of science. When land becomes too valuable for the grazing of sheep, wool will cease to be the staple commodity of cloth and synthetic fibers made from the storehouses of nature will take its place.

And while I am out of context let me point out that farmland to produce the food necessary to feed the teeming population in the year 2000 will be in short supply but we will solve that problem by tapping the inexhaustible protein resources of the measureless oceans.

MIRACLES OF THE SEA

Now, let us turn the long-range binoculars on that ancient, fabled, challenging pathway of transport, the "bounding main" with its fingers of water reaching into all the land areas of the earth. Tradition and custom have kept a tight grip on water transport, but change is about to break over the fleets of the world like a storm.

Exciting, almost incredible, developments in the area of water transport crowd across the pages of the daily press. Automation, nuclear power, hydrofoils, hydroskimmers, containerization. But wait. Look a little closer and you will see just beneath the surface an industry encrusted with the barnacles of time and obsolescence of thought. During the past quarter of a century and more, when newer forms of transport were breaking barrier after barrier, the improvements in ship design, speed, and efficiency have been relatively insignificant.

Water covers three-fourths of the earth's surface, and world geography plus vital statistics will force us to make better use of water transport in the future. There is a limit to the highways of concrete and steel that we can build, and to the space available for their building, but the pathways of the seas are almost limitless.

It is now just a decade since nuclear energy was first successfully employed to power the submarine *Nautilus*, launched in 1954. During that decade we have invaded outer space, put new stars in the heavens, landed a rocket on the moon, and established worldwide communications through relay stations in the sky. But we have been slow to exploit the greatest breakthrough in water and land transport since the inauguration of mechanical power. It was not until 1959, with the launching of the *SS Savannah*, that this fantastic new source of energy was employed to propel a cargo-passenger ship.

In an age where miracles abound the miracle of nuclear propulsion is just breaking free. The *Savannah* can operate for 3½ years on a single core of fuel. She can cruise at 21 knots for 336,000 nautical miles on a single fuel load. But like Robert Fulton's Clermont, the *Savannah* is only the beginning. Last month a large U.S. manufacturer announced that it is developing a reactor plant that will require refueling only once during the entire life of a ship. When

history writes the saga of ocean transport from the vantage point of the year 2000, the chapter headed "Nautilus, 1954" will be longer than the chapter headed "Christopher Columbus, 1492."

The ship of the future will be mass-produced—certainly production methods will be revolutionized—from one of the strong, light metals or even plastic. All will be nuclear powered and propelled at speeds of at least 30 knots per hour. The size will be suited to the environment and the type of cargo to be handled. The bottleneck of shipping is the port operation. That handicap will be overcome in a number of ways. All cargo that is susceptible of being boxed will be containerized and will move between ship and land vehicles without breaking bulk—by crane, conveyor, monorail, or some other device. Bulk cargoes will be loaded and discharged automatically by remotely controlled mechanical devices.

What will happen to the containers when they are emptied at destination? The answer is a "world bank" of containers under the control and direction of an international organization. This could be a branch of the United Nations or some specially constituted world organization. The establishment of such a worldwide pool of standard, interchangeable, multiple-use containers will require diplomacy and the cooperation of all governments, but in the face of necessity and in the interest of humanity it can and will be worked out.

The only limitation on the size of ships is the facility for docking at ports, and it will be possible for the ship of tomorrow to take on and discharge cargo at almost any place, so that vessels of mountainous size will ply the seas. The screw propeller probably will be supplanted by jet-type propulsion using either air or water to provide the thrust. Ocea-going barges, with capacity almost unlimited, will move anything that needs to be moved.

The subsurface ship, or submarine, may carry a substantial part of the heavy or bulk cargo of the world in A.D. 2000. It has many advantages. The submarine is capable of much higher speeds with less resistance than surface ships. There is no wave or wind resistance. Storms which slow down and sometimes imperil surface craft have no effect on the submerged vessel.

As the giant submarine torpedoes its way through the oceans under the surface of the water a greyhound of the seas, the fleet hydrofoil will be skimming over the waves, adding a dimension of mobility the uses of which will be infinite. The ship on "stilts" or hydrofoil, like many other departures from the normal has been known and employed for a long time, but its potentials are just beginning to be realized. Jet propelled, these ships which rise on their foils like a water skier, are capable of tremendous speeds. Consequently, they reduce the time differential between air and water travel to a minimum. Carrying their hulls above all except the highest waves they are not subject to pounding. Their power-to-speed curve, contrary to that of surface vessels, climbs steadily as speed increases.

By the year 2000 the hydrofoils will be the business of the oceans. Millions will commute between home and office by this fast and economical form of taxi service. But hydrofoils will have even more vital roles in transportation. Since they can operate in very shallow water they will be used as a supplemental carrier, making it possible for the giant ocean liners to transfer their cargo to hydrofoil or hydroskimmer and discharge it on any beach. These shallow-draft vessels also can act as ferries to carry ocea-going freight between a shipside and interior river ports. This should prove especially beneficial in the emerging nations of the world which are deficient in road and rail transport

but which are traversed by many natural waterways.

Transportation always has developed in response to the will and the needs of the people. The 5 or 6 billion people who will live in the year 2000, having more time to travel, a keener appreciation of the cultural aspects of life, an unquenchable desire to see and to explore the far reaches of the world, will create a demand for more, better, and cheaper ocean transport. The largest passenger liners today accommodate only about 2,000 passengers. Nuclear-powered superliners can be built to accommodate 10,000 or more passengers—a complete city on water—a traveling resort or cultural center.

The cost of such mass-produced transportation can be reduced to as low as \$100 between the United States and Europe—a world cruise for as low as \$500. No need for hotels for those who wish to make their traveling city a home. By helicopter and hydroskimmer the vacationer will explore the interior of all countries from the ports of call. These floating cities will provide ideal convention facilities and places to "get away from it all" or facilities from which to "see the world, depending upon the whim of the passenger."

I have mentioned before the one phenomenal, newly emerging, mode of transport which, because it cuts across all known media seems destined to have a more profound effect on the pattern of transportation in the year 2000 than anything else on the horizon today. That is the vehicle that rides on a cushion of air. These strange craft are called, variously, hydroskimmers, air-cushion vehicles, and ground-effect machines (GEM). In England one of these types of air-cushion vehicles is called the Hovercraft on which considerable progress is now being made. The principle on which these vessels operate has been known and explored for more than 20 years but it is only in recent times that serious efforts were begun to make practical application of the idea.

The feasibility of the air-cushion vehicle has been established. It can hover inches above the surface of land or water or rise to a considerable height. It can be powered by propellers, by jet engines, or by air jet. Fantastic speeds will be possible. Since it can go where no other surface craft can go it will be an indispensable adjunct to rail, motor, water, and air transport. It can take frozen foods and medical supplies to peoples in heretofore inaccessible places, over swamps, marshes, rocky cliffs, or frozen wastes. This machine can and will immeasurably advance the cause of civilization.

In the year 2000 the flying saucer myth or mystery will be no more—there will be flying saucers everywhere, and if some of them are from Mars no one will worry except the man responsible for selling license plates. There will be no need for bumpers on the machines because radar will prevent crashes and computers will direct traffic.

CONCLUSION

What a confluence of centuries—what a juncture of history—when the sun sets on the 20th century and rises on the 21st. If all the dreams I have spun come true in the next 35 years, the bells will ring loudly and the people will cheer wildly and there will be peace on earth when the clock ticks in the first syllable of the next century. But have I dealt with dreams? Is anything that I have predicted more improbable than that a manmade satellite known as Syncom III is standing out in space right now through the instrumentality of which these very proceedings could be made to come alive in the living rooms of people everywhere?

Were Da Vinci, Marconi, and Watt, or Stevenson, Fulton, and the Wright brothers dreaming dreams or paving the way for the future when they postulated things that had never theretofore been achieved?

Before you mark off anything that I have predicted for the next three and a half

decades look back on the startling developments of the recent past. The breaking of the sound barrier. Space travel. Substitution of a cushion of air for the ageless wheel. The broadcasting of a message of good will to the world by a President of the United States not by cable, phone, or radio, but from a satellite circling around the globe in outer space—then the erasure of the message and substitution of another while the satellite was in orbit. The Olympic games in Tokyo brought into the homes of people on the far side of the earth through the medium of a relay station in space. Multiply these miracles of science by the rate of change which is being constantly compounded and see if my predictions do not come out on the modest side even to the point of reticence.

I believe the most important fact for us to understand is that transportation, though it opens new worlds and changes old concepts of time and distance, will not shape the world of A.D. 2000. Transportation is the servant of the people—the genie which makes their dreams come true—the magic carpet of their future—the mobility of their desires, their aspirations, and their resources.

A long time ago one of those great men who are born with a mission to change the environment of their time, Benjamin Franklin, wrote to his friend Joseph Priestly, that he sometimes regretted he was born too soon, because he found it impossible to imagine the height to which might be carried, in a thousand years, the power of man over matter. And after speculating for a while about a great many things that might come to pass, much as I have speculated here today, Franklin ended his letter with a sentence which I should like to leave with you: "O, that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement that men would cease to be wolves to one another and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity."

OPENING AT FRANKFURT (MAIN), GERMANY OF THE JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY EXHIBIT

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on November 15, 1964, at Frankfurt (Main) in Germany, the John F. Kennedy Library Exhibit was opened, and present on this occasion was Mrs. Joan Kennedy, the wife of U.S. Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

An eloquent and most touching address was made on that occasion by one of Germany's leading citizens, Mr. Walther Casper.

In my remarks, I include the appropriate and splendid address delivered by Mr. Casper:

ADDRESS BY MR. WALTHER CASPER AT THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE JOHN F. KENNEDY MOBILE LIBRARY EXHIBIT IN THE PRESENCE OF MRS. EDWARD KENNEDY AT THE GERMAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE IN FRANKFURT (MAIN), NOVEMBER 15, 1964

Mrs. Kennedy, Mr. Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, in the name of the German Committee for the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library I would like to welcome you and open the exhibit of documents and personal effects of the late President. You will per-

mit me to welcome especially Mayor Brundert and his predecessor, a member of our committee, Dr. Bockelmann, as representatives of all present on the German side and Consul General Ford and commander of the 5th Army Corps, General Polk, for our American friends in the Frankfurt area. At the same time I would like to thank the city of Frankfurt and our friends from the America House. Only your exemplary cooperation in the extensive organizational preparations and your hospitality made today's event possible.

I may then turn right away to our guests from the United States and welcome you heartily in our midst. Above all you, Mrs. Kennedy, who together with your sister, Mrs. McMurrey, and Miss Keyes, who worked many years with President Kennedy, accompany the exhibition and plan to spend 2 days in our city. It is also a pleasure for me to have a number of labor union leaders with us including Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers of America, and his brother, Mr. Victor Reuther.

Originally the exhibit that we are opening here in Frankfurt today was selected to enlist support for the Kennedy Memorial Library in the United States. In Germany, following the desire of the Kennedy family, it is to have another purpose. The family of the deceased President and the board of trustees of the Kennedy Memorial Library have made available to us the collection of personal effects and extremely important documents from President Kennedy's period in office as an expression of thanks for the affection with which the President was met during his visit to Germany and the deep sorrow which the German people manifested over the terrible occurrence of last November. We are especially grateful to your family, Mrs. Kennedy, that this exhibit, at the express wish of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, is being shown during these November days in Frankfurt and next weekend in Berlin.

Even if no support is enlisted and no funds collected with this exhibit, a direct relationship with the institute in Boston clearly exists, a relationship to the idea of this institute with which in the next 2 weeks the students of 15 German universities will be concerned during collections, speeches, and discussions. The youth of at least 20 other German cities will be doing the same. As climax and conclusion of these assemblies, the President of the Federal Republic will speak on this theme in the University of Cologne on November 27 to representatives of all German youth and student organizations assembled there.

I think this is the place to remember a member of our committee who passed away yesterday evening: Dr. Heinrich von Brentano.

His performance and services as a human being, a politician, and as one of the architects of postwar Europe will be given recognition from more qualified voices. I may, however, assure you that Heinrich von Brentano supported wholeheartedly the idea of the John F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. His last deed before his serious operation last November was the moving obituary that he dedicated to President Kennedy. When he then heard of the plans of the youth and student organizations, he immediately declared himself ready to speak in one of the universities. Only a few days ago at the advice of his doctors did he have to decline.

The library on the land of Harvard University in Boston (Cambridge), which will come into being in the next 3 years, will not only be dedicated to the memory of a great man. In an Institute for Contemporary History, equipped with the most modern technical devices, scholarship students from all countries of the world will have the opportunity to work on the decisive questions of our time, and it will occur that, above all, these questions will be those which President Ken-

nedy, as no one else before him, brought to the center of our attention: the questions of the Atlantic partnership and the developing countries, the questions of atomic weapons and of world peace.

Commensurate with the contributions of the individual countries, their political and scientific younger generations will have the opportunity to work in this international meeting place as holders of scholarships.

I believe it is clear to us all that it is not a question of sentimental reminiscences or idolization of Kennedy here; it is, however, a concern that future politicians from the entire world through mutual acquaintance and discussion together learn to recognize the temporary and piecemeal solutions which are so often praised with the words "real" and "practical" and that their vision be clarified for the whole of this one world and the problems to be solved by this generation.

What is more necessary, as Kennedy made apparent in his short period of office, than that the bearers of political responsibility demonstrate that power and spirit, politics and intelligence are not opposed but that their union more than all else is capable of creating the proper and genuine spirit of citizenship.

Ladies and gentlemen, among us are sitting 23 development helpers who are taking off today in a chartered plane for Tanganyika. They will cooperate for 2 years on slum clearance projects in Dar es Salaam. The Government of Tanganyika has decided upon a 5-year program for building 5,000 houses, and the German Federal States under guidance from the State of Hesse have made the building equipment and tools available. The program will largely be carried through with the self-help of the population concerned. Our male development helpers are bringing technical knowledge to thousands of unskilled Africans and hundreds of trained craftsmen, who on their part should carry the knowledge on to volunteers and trained craftsmen of their own country. At the same time our women development helpers are working as nurses in health education and as home economics and kindergarten teachers. They too, following the principle of multiplication, are to pass on their abilities and skills to the largest possible number of African counterparts and thereby help to assure that this slum clearance project can become an example for other parts of east Africa.

It is by no means a digression from the purpose of our assembly when we ask you, development helpers, goodbye here; you are in a manner of speaking the living witnesses for the continued presence of one of the noblest of President Kennedy's ideas. He took a most personal part in the coming into being of the German Development Service, and he allowed nothing to prevent him from being present at the founding of our Development Service on June 24, 1963. He said at that time: "I hope that outside of the American Peace Corps and the new German Development Service young people from still many other countries will cooperate in this work . . . and that we can make a great common effort in the solving of these problems in the 1960's."

Today numerous volunteers from France, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are standing on this frontline of peace. Preparations are underway in Sweden, Italy, Austria, and Japan, and finally, this idea has taken hold also in several developing countries, such as Argentina, Peru, El Salvador, Zambia, Tanganyika, Thailand, and the Philippines.

President Kennedy's vision of the future, that during this decade the community of volunteers from many countries might represent an important contribution to understanding among peoples and to peace in the world, therefore, does not seem unrealistic.

The Federal President also, in his capacity as patron of the German Development Service, has commissioned me to extend to you, development helpers, his greetings and wishes on your way and to remind you of the admonition that he gave in wishing the first 55 volunteers goodbye on July 15 of this year: "To see it through voluntarily when you are witness to great want, and to consider yourselves as representatives of a country that abhors war, that rejects it as a means of politics, and would like to wash every stain from its name through peaceful efforts."

Ladies and gentlemen, we must now bring to a close the reflections which have united us in this hour in the memory of President Kennedy.

President Kennedy in his image of the New Frontier has brought to the attention of our time that the difference between men and ants does not lie in their physical order of magnitude but in their possession of freedom, and, that wherever this blessing is threatened, from within ourselves or from outside, the New Frontier becomes visible.

Thank you.

EDITORIAL BY JAMES L. HARRINGTON EXPRESSING WORLDWIDE FEELINGS AND SENTIMENTS FOR THE LATE BELOVED PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks, I include a splendid and touching editorial written by James L. Harrington, and appearing in the November 13, 1964, issue of the Boston Naval Shipyard News.

The editorial expresses the worldwide feelings and sentiments of people everywhere who not only deeply respected, but had an intense affection for the late beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy:

HE LEFT US A LEGACY

"He led an entire Nation and found his way to the secret hopes of man. He was Irish, and he was Massachusetts born, and he was Boston bred.

"He belongs to the world. But part of him belongs especially to you.

"When he died the sound of mourning was heard in every street of the earth. But tears came more plentifully to Boston eyes, and grief more painfully to Boston hearts.

"His qualities were many. But two especially explain his hold on men. He made them feel they were better than they thought they were; that perhaps, on earth, God's work could truly be their own.

"And he could absorb, in his imagination, the dreams, and longings, the fears and ambitions, of others; whether they lived in mud huts in Africa or in the palaces of kings. And somehow, they understood this was so.

"No memory is more fresh, none is so bright, none so mingles pain and gratitude, as that of John Fitzgerald Kennedy of Massachusetts."

President Lyndon B. Johnson, speaking in the fading twilight of Boston's Postoffice Square, was paying tribute to a beloved fallen

leader and speaking of a national legacy left behind by the 35th President of the United States.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy engaged himself in a struggle against the common enemies of man: Tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

When he was taken from our midst on a warm day in Dallas almost a year ago, a hidden assassin's bullet snuffed out the life of a man of wisdom, strength and peace—who molded and moved the power of our Nation in the service of a world of growing liberty and order. All who loved freedom mourned his death.

Within a few days the Nation and the world will observe the first anniversary of his passing from the American scene—a Nation and world that was enriched by his brief presence. And what better way is there to pay tribute to the fallen leader, John Fitzgerald Kennedy?

Carry out the aims, ideals, and objectives of the national legacy left to us by him.

Now that he is relieved of the almost superhuman burdens we imposed on him, let us follow the paths of intelligence and reason to which John Fitzgerald Kennedy pointed. History has judged him well—for his wisdom, compassion, and grace.

Let history judge us as we carry out his legacy—while we seek life, liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness—the time-worn words of a Republic that fought tyranny, oppression, and hunger from its birth.

If we fulfill this legacy, then the final words of his inauguration address will be brought to a fruitful close:

"Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

A MINIMUM WAGE FOR FARMWORKERS

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to provide minimum wages for certain farmworkers. Employees covered by this proposed amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 would be entitled to \$1 an hour during the first year following the effective date of the act, \$1.15 during the second year, and \$1.30 during the third year. Farmworkers who are members of the employer's immediate family and sharecroppers are not covered by this bill.

The American farmworker is the most underpaid, and unprotected labor group in the Nation. This is supposed to be a land of plenty. We boast of the most efficient and productive agricultural system in the world. Yet, the wages paid to most farmworkers are at shockingly low levels, far below the minimum wage standards established by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The authors of the Fair Labor Standards Act intended to provide protection for farmworkers. President Roosevelt

stated in his message to Congress on May 24, 1937:

Legislation can, I hope, be passed at this session of the Congress further to help those who toil in factory and on farm.

And, although the exemption for farmworkers was placed in the original act of 1938, since that time there have been a number of proposals in Congress to bring this disadvantaged group under FLSA. The Tolson committee of 1941 and the La Follette committee of 1942 each recommended placing a floor under farm wages. Bills similar to mine were introduced in the Senate in the 87th Congress and the 88th Congress. In 1960 the Department of Labor stated in a report that it would be both desirable and feasible to extend Federal minimum wage legislation to agriculture in order to improve the wage structure of hired farm labor.

Recent data demonstrates more than ever the need and the desirability of extending FLSA protection to farmworkers, especially migrant farmworkers. In May 1963 average hourly earnings of farmworkers were 89 cents an hour. This was equivalent to about one-fourth the earnings of workers in contract construction, to about one-third the earnings of workers in mining, manufacturing, and wholesale trade, and to about one-half the earnings of employees in retail trade. Statistics from the Bureau of the Census show that in 1957, when the average family income in the United States was about \$5,000, 45 percent of the families of farm laborers had cash incomes below \$2,000. That means \$2,000 for an entire family. Individual farmworkers were averaging just \$892 per year, including earnings for nonfarm work. Of course, the majority of farmworkers work less than 150 days a year at seasonal jobs, and they have to do the best they can during the off season when there is no farm work to be had. Even during the periods when they are employed, if weather or other conditions prevent them from working they are not paid for the days that are lost. For the migrant farmworker, it is common for housing to be inadequate and, in fact, deplorable, for sanitation facilities to be nonexistent, and for educational opportunities for their children to be absent.

The relative position of the farm laborer is growing worse instead of improving. Since World War II the differences between farm and nonfarm wage rates has become greater. Between 1947 and 1962, average hourly wages in contract construction increased 115 percent; in manufacturing, 96 percent; in wholesale trade, 94 percent; in retail trade, 93 percent; in mining, 84 percent; but in agriculture, only 56 percent. This gap is widening despite the fact that farmworkers' output per man-hour increased 2.4 times during that period, while for nonfarmworkers it was only 1.5 times as great.

The minimum wages provided in my bill are in line with the new schedule recently promulgated for foreign workers under Public Law 414. These hourly wage rates vary from 95 cents to \$1.40, and after April 1 of this year the lowest

hourly wages allowed under Public Law 414 will be \$1.15.

Mr. Speaker, no lobbyists will come to Washington and buttonhole Members of Congress on behalf of the farmworkers. They are perhaps the most underrepresented and unorganized group in the country. No pressure groups, therefore, will organize letterwriting campaigns, purchase full-page ads in newspapers and magazines, or distribute newsletters or circulars for them. But it is right and proper for every Member of Congress to consider the plight and the miserable pay of the American farmworker. I urge each and every one of my colleagues to support my bill to place a floor under the wage levels of the men and women who help produce the bounty in which all of us share.

LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE AND DIRECT THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AS TO QUALITY AND HEALTH FACTORS OF TOBACCO

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, on January 6, 1965, I introduced House Joint Resolution 138, to authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct research into the quality and health factors of tobacco and other ingredients and materials used in the manufacture of tobacco products.

On January 7, I noted in the Evening Star a very cogent and thoughtful story by James J. Kilpatrick, on the editorial page entitled "The Smoking Report, a Year Later." Mr. Kilpatrick has written a full and accurate summary of the year that has elapsed since the Surgeon General's report linking tobacco and cancer was published. Mr. Kilpatrick's article points out the various reactions to the controversial report of Government agencies, of the tobacco industry, and of the consumer market. The facts, Mr. Kilpatrick states, that the sales of tobacco products have again risen, that the prices of tobacco stocks are at their previous level, that the price supports for tobacco will be continued, that the tobacco industry has placed restrictions on its own advertising, and that several research investigations have found doubtful data in the Surgeon General's report—all demonstrate the Federal Government's principal responsibility in the tobacco controversy: to launch a thoroughgoing investigation into the production and use of tobacco products, in order to determine what factors, if any, are detrimental to human health and to discover ways in which these elements may be eliminated.

I am particularly impressed with Mr. Kilpatrick's belief in voluntarism as an essential part of the American way of life. The role of the Federal Govern-

ment, as he sees it, is not to discipline the people in their use of tobacco—and this could refer to food, drink, and automobiles, as well—but to present the whole truth concerning this product and allow the American people to choose for themselves.

I am inserting this article by Mr. Kilpatrick in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress, since it so adequately presents the tobacco question, pointing up the need for research and investigation into the adverse health factors which may be found to exist in tobacco and/or tobacco products and clearly emphasizing the lack of concise and scientific pinpointing as to what these elements are in the smoking and health report to the Surgeon General, and since it is so germane to the resolution which I have introduced.

Mr. Speaker, again I say that we must launch such a crash research program without further delay, under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, in the interest of the smoking public and of the tobacco industry, which is of such significant import to the economy of our Nation.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 7, 1965]

THE SMOKING REPORT, A YEAR LATER

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Almost a year has passed since the Surgeon General, on January 11, brought forth the now famous report of his advisory committee on smoking and health. Certain things have happened in the meantime.

Cigarette consumption, after a precipitate drop, has returned to former levels.

The market in tobacco stocks has followed the same course.

A Federal trial jury has refused to hold a manufacturer liable for the lung cancer of a regular smoker.

The tobacco industry has adopted a self-policing advertising code.

A number of responsible research investigations have tended to cast doubt on some of the conclusions of the Surgeon General's report.

One agency of the Government has conducted a referendum to assure the continuation of Federal price supports for tobacco. Another agency of the Government has recommended a 3-year, \$10 million Federal campaign to persuade people to stop smoking.

Each of these events contributes not merely to the confusion of the times, which are perhaps sufficiently confused already, but more usefully to an understanding of a free society, what is good about it and how it gets fouled up. We may not learn a great deal about the causal relationship, if any, between cigarettes and cancer, but we can learn a good deal about certain ailments of the body politic.

Why this reaction? It was because this was the Government speaking. It was the U.S. Surgeon General. The report carried on its title page the seal of a Federal agency. Copies were obtainable from the Government Printing Office. All of the trappings and publicity advantages that attach to Government helped to give the report an authority it did not deserve. This was the voice of "Big Brother" speaking; we tend to pay it too much heed.

If the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke has its way, Big Brother will speak even more forcefully over the next 3 years. The recommended appropriation would finance not only a campaign against smoking but also a network of smok-

ing control clinics. The whole weight of Government pressure would be thrown behind a habit that Government officially concludes is bad for us.

As the Wall Street Journal has observed, a whole lot of other things are probably bad for us, too. Automobiles, for example: They kill 40,000 persons a year. Liquor is bad for us; witness the tolls of alcohol. Rich food is a real danger; so are sweets; so is the lack of exercise. The world is full of perils, most of them as alluring as a third martini, and most of them we bring on ourselves. At what point should the compulsions of law and the awful powers of Government intrude upon our private lives?

That is the question that ought to be pondered in this whole controversy over cigarettes. Free men have to be left some room to turn around in, some room to be wrong in. If the tobacco industry is willing voluntarily to curb its appeals, why not let voluntarism have a try at this thing? Meanwhile, instead of supporting tobacco through Orville Freeman and condemning it through Anthony Celebrezze, why not let the Government (if it must do something) aid in the financing of the statistically valid research that remains to be done? It now is clear, to those who have taken the time to analyze the Surgeon General's report, that the committee's most publicized conclusion was based upon remarkably flimsy evidence. In the hullabaloo a year ago, it was widely overlooked that the committee itself undertook no new investigations of its own. The committee went over seven studies of smokers and non-smokers, consolidated certain findings and conclusions, and came up with the ominous headline: "Cigarette smoking is causally related to lung cancer in men."

On close examination, it is seen that two of these studies were based on reports from untrained volunteers who chose their statistical sample "from among their acquaintances." The other five studies suffered from large rates of nonresponse to questionnaires. Almost half of 78,000 Canadian pensioners, in one study, failed to respond.

The commission itself noted that some figures were "inadequate" and others were marred by "discrepancies." Four of the five studies curiously agreed that the death rate among ex-pipe smokers is higher than the death rate both for nonsmokers and cigarette smokers; the commission could not explain "this puzzling phenomenon."

These statistical shortcomings—and remember that these were the best statistics the committee could find—were simply ignored a year ago. In point of fact, the various findings and conclusions were nothing new.

As the jury sensibly was to conclude in the Florida case, no man in his right mind imagines that cigarettes are really good for him; every rational being comprehends that if a man smokes very much he most likely will cough. Cigarettes have been known as "coffin nails" for at least a hundred years. Yet a year ago, when the report came out, veteran smokers shuddered and ran for their gum drops, and cigarettes stocks took a tumble.

Government was not meant to be preacher, parson, or grade school principal; Government was meant to be servant. And when Uncle pulls out a \$10 million switch, those of us who smoke would rather fight.

FAIRNESS TO FEDERAL EMPLOYEES UNDER PERFORMANCE RATING SYSTEM

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill which would return fair employment practices to our dedicated Federal classified employees, by restoring use of the time-honored system of performance rating, by which the employee has rights of appeal from an unfair rating.

Such bill would remove from the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, one of its few really undesirable provisions which was put there by the Salary Reform Act of 1962.

That act provides as one of the conditions for an employee receiving a within-grade salary increase the requirement "that his work is of an acceptable level of competence as determined by the head of the department." At first this provision appears to be a statement of good personnel procedure. His competence to perform certain assigned duties should be at an acceptable level below which he should be considered as one who is not fully qualified to fill a particular position. However, this provision is not as desirable or as innocuous as it may appear.

The first objection is that it is unnecessary. The Performance Rating Act of 1950, as amended, is still in effect, and it fully provides for the establishment and administration of satisfactory performance rating plans for the majority of employees in the legislative and executive branches of the Government. It does not cover the Field Service of the Post Office Department, the Foreign Service of the United States, or the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, and several Federal corporations and independent establishments because rating systems for those agencies are elsewhere provided in law. This act required each department to establish and use one or more performance rating plans "for evaluating the work performance of such officers and employees."

When the performance rating system was established, satisfactory performance was stipulated in section 701 of the Classification Act as a requirement for advancing to the next rate within a grade. Satisfactory performance was established as the criterion for determining satisfactory discharge of duties. Now there is set up another and conflicting standard. In effect the requirement of showing an acceptable level of competence establishes a conflicting method of measuring employee performance. It does more than that, in that it does not offer the protection afforded under the performance rating system. That system required supervisors to give an employee a 90-day warning before rating an employee as unsatisfactory. If the unsatisfactory rating is recorded, the supervisor is required to explain the rating, and the employee has the right of appeal to a board which includes an employee member.

The most confusing aspect of the level of competence provision is that it has been asserted that an employee can

achieve satisfactory performance and yet fail to attain an acceptable level of competence.

This provision has been described by the Civil Service Commission as making it possible for an agency to deny within-grade increases to purely marginal workers. It is difficult, however, to think of an employee who would be rated satisfactory under the performance rating system and yet not be working at an acceptable level of competence. It appears to be a strange concept that an employee rated as satisfactory by one set of standards is considered substandard by another measurement of his performance.

Federal employees have been greatly disturbed by this requirement of showing an acceptable level of competence and they have expressed their fears through their organizations. Employees believe that this provision offers every opportunity for discrimination and reprisal. There have been some indications that such fears have been well founded.

What this provision does in practice is give a supervisor an unrestricted opportunity to withhold an employee's within-grade increase without having to explain his action. Nothing could be more undesirable in the entire field of personnel administration, particularly in the civil service which should provide true leadership.

The fact is that this requirement can denote as much or as little as a supervisor wishes, and therein lies the danger. This provision offers perhaps the greatest opportunities possible for reprisal by supervisors. As such, it should be removed from the law.

One further reason for eliminating this level of competence provision from the law is that it singles out only the Federal employees subject to the Classification Act and imposes on them a dual standard of performance which is inequitable and inconsistent. This requirement was not written into that portion of the 1962 Salary Reform Act which related to the postal service. Nor was it applied to the Foreign Service under the State Department or to the Department of Medicine and Surgery in the Veterans' Administration. The performance of classified employees is not only susceptible to appraisal in accordance with the Performance Rating Act but must be further reevaluated in accordance with another system which has yet to be clearly and satisfactorily explained.

THE SYSTEMATIC BREACHES OF THE PEACE AND DISREGARD OF LAW BY AMERICAN NAZIS

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of Congress, the Members

of Congress were witnesses to a disgraceful incident when Robert Lloyd, a self-proclaimed member of the American Nazi Party, forced himself into the House Chamber and engaged in an ugly racist demonstration.

As a result I wrote the following letter to Chester H. Gray, Corporation Counsel for the District of Columbia:

I am of the opinion that if Mr. Lloyd and other self-proclaimed members of the American Nazi Party get the impression that this course of action can be continued, they will feel that they are purchasing a license to disturb the peace. I believe that the incident of January 4, 1965, was so disgraceful and reprehensible that it should not be allowed to end with the forfeiture of bail, but that Mr. Lloyd should be apprehended and promptly tried on the charge pending.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report I received the following letter from Mr. Gray:

I thoroughly agree with you that Robert Lloyd should be prosecuted and punished for his disturbance of the Congress of the United States.

Upon receipt of your letter of January 6, 1965, I directed my assistant at the court of general sessions to take the necessary steps to have the forfeiture set aside and a prosecution initiated. A warrant for Robert Lloyd's arrest has already been issued. Upon his apprehension my assistant will prosecute vigorously and upon his conviction bring Mr. Lloyd's record to the attention of the court for consideration in the imposition of sentence.

I understand that the warrant for Lloyd's arrest can only be served within the District of Columbia. I hope that he will come in and stand trial, but if he does not, the outstanding warrant should serve to keep him out of the District which will be a blessing.

I am gratified with the action of Corporation Counsel Gray, and I hope it will serve as a warning to hoodlums that they will no longer get by with forfeiture of bail.

QUESTION OF AID TO UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, concerning the question of aid to the United Arab Republic and the views of some of the interested parties, I think it would be of benefit to the members of this House to have available to them a communication from His Excellency Seif Al-Islam Al-Hassan, Prime Minister of the National Government of Yemen, to the Secretary General of the United Nations, which is as follows:

Two years ago the United States and other countries recognized the military usurpation of power in Yemen on the condition that Egyptian armed forces would withdraw promptly from Yemen.

Two years have, however, passed and large Egyptian land and air forces still continue to wage war against the people of Yemen on be-

half of the rebels who were originally created by Cairo.

Individuals and governments, influenced by Cairo, ignore the fact that these rebels have no real authority in Yemen.

Egypt, officially and publicly, has admitted that no republican authority or government exists in Yemen, when President Nasser, and others, declared "that the Egyptian forces will not withdraw until the revolutionary government is established and secured."

International law and the United Nations Charter only recognize as sovereign those who govern themselves. The national government of Yemen alone has this sovereign power, and, therefore, insists that its representative take his seat at the United Nations—a seat that has belonged for 18 years to the legitimate Yemen Government.

The national government protests against the continued seating of military usurpers who exist only because of tens of thousands of heavily armed Egyptian occupation forces.

The national government reminds the Communist governments that tens of thousands of Yemeni men, women, and children have been made homeless, and are suffering from hunger, poverty, and disease as the direct result of Communist guns and aircraft used against them by the Egyptian forces.

The national government points out that large-scale American economic aid is supplied to the aggressor country, the United Arab Republic, and that this aid helps it carry out its criminal actions.

The people of Yemen and their legitimate government appeal for justice from you and from the members of the United Nations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PELLY.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HATHAWAY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. COOLEY.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN.

Mr. HAWKINS.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 13, 1965, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

322. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States transmitting an examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1964, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture (H. Doc. No. 46); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

323. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting an audit of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Department of Justice, fiscal year 1964 (H. Doc. No. 47); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

324. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting the 43d Annual Report of the Board of Actuaries of the Civil Service Retirement System for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1963, pursuant to section 16 of the Civil Service Retirement Act (H. Doc. No. 48); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and ordered to be printed.

325. A letter from the Associate Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report on title I, Public Law 480, agreements signed during December 1964, pursuant to provisions of Public Law 85-128; to the Committee on Agriculture.

326. A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report that miscellaneous appropriations have been apportioned on a basis which indicates a necessity for supplemental estimates of appropriations, pursuant to section 3679 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 665); to the Committee on Appropriations.

327. A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report that the appropriation for the Forest Service for "Forest protection and utilization" for the fiscal year 1965 had been reapportioned on a basis indicating a need for a supplemental estimate of appropriation, pursuant to section 3679 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 665); to the Committee on Appropriations.

328. A letter from the vice president, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., transmitting a report of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1964, pursuant to law; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

329. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the biennial report on continuing studies of the quality of water of the Colorado River system, pursuant to section 15 of the act of Congress approved April 11, 1956; of section 15 of the act of June 13, 1962, and of section 6 of the act of August 16, 1962; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

330. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

331. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, transmitting the 19th annual report of the Federal Aviation Agency's operations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, pursuant to Public Law 377, 79th Congress, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

332. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a report on backlog of pending applications and hearing cases in the Federal Communications Commission as of November 30, 1964, pursuant to section 5(e) of the Communications Act, as amended July 16, 1952, by Public Law 554; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

333. A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill for the relief of Capt. Ted M. Richardson, U.S. Air Force"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

334. A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to protect the security of the United States by providing penalties for interference with defense security systems"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

335. A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Administration, Department of Justice, transmitting a report of the administrative tort claims paid by the Department during the 1964 fiscal year, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 2678; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

336. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to fix the fees payable to the Patent Office, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

337. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report and recommendation to the Congress concerning the claim of Lewis H. Nelson III against the United States, pursuant to 45 Stat. 413, 31 U.S.C. 236; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

338. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill for the relief of Terence J. O'Donnell, Thomas P. Wilcox, and Clifford M. Springberg"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

339. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend section 753(f) of title 28, United States Code, relating to transcripts furnished by court reporters for the district courts"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

340. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill relating to the retirement of judges of the territorial district courts"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

341. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend section 144 of title 28 of the United States Code"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

342. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to extend to 30 days the time for filing petitions for removal of civil actions from State to Federal courts"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

343. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend section 1871 of title 28, United States Code, to increase the per diem and subsistence, and limit mileage allowances of, grand and petit jurors"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Joint Committee on Defense Production. Fourteenth Annual Report of the Activities of the Joint Committee on Defense Production (Rept. No. 1). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 2361. A bill to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 2362. A bill to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 2363. A bill to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship

in the humanities and the arts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. AYERS:

H.R. 2364. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide education and training for veterans who served overseas for 90 days or more after January 31, 1955, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BENNETT:

H.R. 2365. A bill to facilitate the procurement of physicians and dentists for the Armed Forces by establishing scholarships, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2366. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a program of scholarships for students of medicine, osteopathy, and dentistry; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2367. A bill to provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 2368. A bill to authorize hospitalization in civil hospitals for retired members of the armed services under group insurance sick and accident policies, based on specified payment of premiums from retired pay; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2369. A bill to revise the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

H.R. 2370. A bill to provide for the control of mosquitoes and mosquito vectors of human disease through research, technical assistance, and grants-in-aid for control projects; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2371. A bill to protect the public health by regulating the manufacture, compounding, processing, distribution, and possession of habit-forming barbiturate and amphetamine drugs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2372. A bill to incorporate the American Academy of Actuaries; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2373. A bill to amend the Submerged Lands Act to establish the seaward boundaries of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana as extending 3 marine leagues into the Gulf of Mexico and providing for the ownership and use of the submerged lands, improvements, minerals, and natural resources within said boundaries; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2374. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide for the greater protection of the President and the Vice President of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2375. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in the southern portion of Louisiana; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2376. A bill to provide increases in annuities granted under the Panama Canal Construction Service Annuity Act of May 29, 1944; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 2377. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide annuities for additional personnel engaged in hazardous occupations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2378. A bill to amend the River and Harbor Act of 1945; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 2379. A bill to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the non-military capabilities of the United States in the global struggle between freedom and

communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions; to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

H.R. 2380. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt nonprofit hospitals from certain excise taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2381. A bill to remove the excise tax on musical instruments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2382. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to set forth the treatment processes considered as mining for percentage depletion purposes in the case of sodium chloride; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2383. A bill to amend section 37 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to equalize for all taxpayers the amount which may be taken into account in computing the retirement income credit thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2384. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide, as a substitute for the existing requirement of production before 1830, that antiques may be imported free of duty if they exceed 100 years of age at the time of importation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2385. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, by provision of a deduction for expenditures for reconversion of structures in a slum clearance program or rehabilitation project; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2386. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a 30-percent credit against the individual income tax for amounts paid as tuition or fees to certain public and private institutions of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2387. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2388. A bill to amend section 302(b) (1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2389. A bill to amend section 72 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit retired employees to elect use of either subsection (b) or subsection (d) to report income from employees' annuities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2390. A bill to grant an additional income tax exemption to a taxpayer supporting a dependent who is blind or otherwise permanently and totally disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2391. A bill to provide that amounts paid for music program service shall be exempt from the Federal excise tax on communications; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2392. A bill to exempt from the manufacturers' excise tax on automotive parts and accessories certain modifications involving lengthening of truck trailers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2393. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction or credit against tax for contributions to National and State political committees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2394. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit a gift to an educational institution to be deducted as charitable contribution even though it is made to provide a scholarship for a specified individual, so long as such individual is not a relative of the donor; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2395. A bill to amend, clarify, and make certain the applicability of section

4233 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, relating to exemptions from tax imposed under section 4231 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRAY:

H.R. 2396. A bill to protect consumers and others against misbranding, false invoicing, and false advertising of decorative wood and simulated wood products; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CAMERON:

H.R. 2397. A bill to authorize investigations and reports on the water resources and requirements of the Colorado River Basin, and to protect existing economies in the course of development of such resources; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CARTER:

H.R. 2398. A bill to provide public works and economic development programs and the planning and coordination needed to assist in the development of the Appalachian region; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. COHELAN:

H.R. 2399. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate with the several States a cooperative program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COLMER:

H.R. 2400. A bill to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2401. A bill to establish rules of interpretation of the effect of acts of Congress on State laws; to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in certain cases; and to provide that confessions and other evidence shall be admissible in U.S. courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2402. A bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

H.R. 2403. A bill to provide for an ad valorem duty on the importation of shrimp; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2404. A bill to regulate the foreign commerce of the United States by establishing quantitative restrictions on the importation of hardwood plywood; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 2405. A bill to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to authorize the Attorney General to reduce, in certain circumstances, the period of time for which certain election records are otherwise required to be retained; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 2406. A bill to authorize the establishment of an International Home Loan Bank to assist in the development of savings associations and building societies in countries where they do not now exist in order to accomplish improved living standards, to increase employment, and to better social and political conditions through facilities for savings and homeownership for the millions of people of modest but stable earning capacity; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2407. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the income tax treatment of dividends paid by certain corporations which hold obligations of State and local governments; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 2408. A bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to regulate the manufacture, compounding, processing, distribution, delivery, and possession of habit-forming barbiturate drugs, amphetamine, and other

habit-forming central nervous system stimulant drugs, and other drugs that have a potential for abuse resulting in psychotoxic effects or antisocial behavior; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 2409. A bill to amend the bonding provisions of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 2410. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide that accumulated sick leave be credited to retirement fund; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2411. A bill to increase annuities payable to certain annuitants from the civil service retirement and disability fund; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2412. A bill to amend section 402 of the Federal Employees Uniform Allowance Act, approved September 1, 1954 (title IV, Public Law 763, 83d Cong.), as amended; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon:

H.R. 2413. A bill authorizing construction of a navigation project at Port Orford, Ore.; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 2414. A bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain lands situated in the State of Oregon to the city of Roseburg, Ore.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee:

H.R. 2415. A bill to extend Federal meat inspection and to permit cooperation with State meat inspection services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 2416. A bill to provide for Federal lotteries to raise funds to provide for a reduction in the national debt and a reduction in the Federal individual income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 2417. A bill to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States to the State of Florida; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H.R. 2418. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to make certain acts against the person of the President and Vice President of the United States and certain other Federal officers a Federal crime; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2419. A bill to provide that the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 2420. A bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under social security, to amend the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system to increase benefits, improve the actuarial status of the disability insurance trust fund, and extend coverage, to amend the Social Security Act to provide additional Federal financial participation in the Federal-State public assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 2421. A bill to amend section 203(e) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to facilitate the procurement of certain surplus personal property by State agencies; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 2422. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938, as amended, to provide for minimum wages for certain persons employed in agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2423. A bill to curb monopolistic control of professional boxing, to establish within the Department of Justice the Office of the National Boxing Commissioner, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 2424. A bill to amend the Standard Time Act of March 19, 1918, in order to establish two new time zones and so as to provide that the standard time established thereunder shall be the measure of time for all purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2425. A bill to establish a new program of grants for public works projects undertaken by local governments in the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HAGEN of California:

H.R. 2426. A bill to permit the withdrawal from social security coverage of policemen, firemen, and district attorney investigators in Kern County, Calif.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 2427. A bill to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2428. A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, so as to provide for the establishment of a White Fleet designed to render emergency assistance to the people of other nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 2429. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to authorize the retirement of employees after 30 years of service without reduction in annuity; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2430. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide that accumulated sick leave be credited to retirement fund; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2431. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, in order to prevent the use of work measuring devices in the postal service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HARVEY of Indiana:

H.R. 2432. A bill to provide for the medical and hospital care of the aged through a system of voluntary health insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HARVEY of Michigan:

H.R. 2433. A bill to authorize the temporary release of 100,000 short tons of copper from the national stockpile; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2434. A bill to amend the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959 to permit certain veterans to elect to receive pensions under title 38 of the United States Code, as in effect on June 30, 1960; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 2435. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2436. A bill to amend the act of June 6, 1933, as amended, to authorize the Secretary of Labor to develop and maintain improved, voluntary methods of recruiting, training, transporting, and distributing agricultural workers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2437. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Council to be known as the "National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor"; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2438. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions thereof to certain children employed in agriculture, and for other purposes.

poses; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2439. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938, as amended, to provide for minimum wages for certain persons employed in agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2440. A bill to repeal section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and section 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of section 8(a) (3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 2441. A bill to authorize a study of methods of helping to provide financial assistance to victims of future flood disasters; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 2442. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer a deduction from gross income for tuition paid by him for the education of a dependent child at an institution of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KEE:

H.R. 2443. A bill to establish quota limitations on imports of foreign residual fuel oil; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LATTI:

H.R. 2444. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to repeal the excise tax on communications; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCLODY:

H.R. 2445. A bill to provide for the medical and hospital care of the aged through a system of voluntary health insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 2446. A bill to allow credit or refund of gift tax erroneously paid by reason of treating nontaxable divisions of community property as gifts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McGRATH:

H.R. 2447. A bill to authorize a study of methods of helping to provide financial assistance to victims of future flood disasters; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MacGREGOR:

H.R. 2448. A bill to reduce the retailers excise taxes on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, and luggage and handbags from 10 percent to 5 percent on July 1, 1965, and to repeal such taxes on July 1, 1966; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 2449. A bill to provide that any person who illegally sells a narcotic drug to a minor shall be imprisoned for not less than 20 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAILLIARD:

H.R. 2450. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide that members of the Armed Forces shall be retired in the highest grade satisfactorily held in any armed force, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2451. A bill to provide for the medical and hospital care of the aged through a system of voluntary health insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 2452. A bill to extend the benefits of the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951, the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, and the Classification Act of 1949 with respect to employees of county committees established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. O'HARA of Michigan:

H.R. 2453. A bill to provide labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal con-

tractors to furnish services to Federal agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 2454. A bill to amend the Classification Act of 1949 to restore the granting of step increases on the basis of performance ratings of satisfactory in lieu of the standard of acceptable level of competence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2455. A bill to set a definite limit on the number of employees supervised by a foreman of mails; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2456. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide that accumulated sick leave be credited to the retirement fund or that the individual be reimbursed; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2457. A bill to increase to 15 percent the night differential of postal field service employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2458. A bill to amend section 3574 of title 39 relating to nightwork compensation; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2459. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to change the computation of annuity; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2460. A bill to create a presumption that certain impairment of health caused by hypertension or heart disease of a Federal or District of Columbia employee is incurred in line of duty for purposes of certain retirement and disability compensation laws or systems; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2461. A bill to amend provisions relative to overtime in the Postal Field Service Compensation Act; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2462. A bill to amend provisions relative to compensatory time in the Postal Field Service Compensation Act; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2463. A bill to extend the benefits of the retired Federal employees entitled to deferred annuity; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 2464. A bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under social security, to amend the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system to increase benefits, improve the actuarial status of the disability insurance trust fund, and extend coverage, to amend the Social Security Act to provide additional Federal financial participation in the Federal-State public assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 2465. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a survivor beneficiary shall not lose his or her entitlement to benefits by reason of a marriage or remarriage which occurs after he or she attains age 62; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2466. A bill to create a Joint Committee on Education; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 2467. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2468. A bill to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2469. A bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 in order to increase the limitation on the amount of loans which may be insured under subtitle A of such act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H.R. 2470. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt certain farm vehicles from the highway use tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 2471. A bill to amend the Administrative Procedure Act to provide for the disclosure of certain communications received by Government agencies from Members of Congress with respect to adjudicatory matters, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIVERS of Alaska:

H.R. 2472. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds for the construction, reconstruction, and improvement of the Alaska Highway; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 2473. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to increase to 2½ percent the multiplication factor for determining annuities for certain Federal employees engaged in hazardous duties; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

H.R. 2474. A bill to direct the Commissioner of Education to assist in the establishment of a Carver Memorial Library, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2475. A bill to amend the bonding provisions of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2476. A bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under social security, to amend the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system to increase benefits, improve the actuarial status of the disability insurance trust fund, and extend coverage, to amend the Social Security Act to provide additional Federal financial participation in the Federal-State public assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 2477. A bill to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to provide that all citizens of the United States may vote at all elections without being required to take literacy tests; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 2478. A bill providing for the distribution and viewing within the United States of the film "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" prepared by the U.S. Information Agency on the late President Kennedy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SELDEN:

H.R. 2479. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2480. A bill to amend title IV of the Social Security Act to deny Federal assistance, under the program of aid to dependent children, for the families of women who are the mothers of two or more illegitimate children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H.R. 2481. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2482. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 2483. A bill to amend section 8(b) (4) of the National Labor Relations Act, as

amended, with respect to strikes at the sites of construction projects; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 2484. A bill to provide that tips received by an employee in the course of his employment shall be included as part of his wages for old-age, survivors, and disability insurance purposes and for purposes of income-tax withholding; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHITE of Idaho:

H.R. 2485. A bill to amend section 615 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the tax treatment of exploration expenditures in the case of mining; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 2486. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended, to provide for the recomputation of annuities of certain retired employees who elected reduced annuities at the time of retirement in order to provide survivor annuities for their spouses, and for the recomputation of survivor annuities for the surviving spouse of certain former employees who died in service or after retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2487. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to provide for the adjustment of inequities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WYDLER:

H.R. 2488. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a credit against the individual income tax for certain amounts paid as educational expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.J. Res. 179. Joint resolution providing for a study of the possibility and desirability of establishing a University of the Americas; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.J. Res. 180. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the second week of March in every year as Volunteers of America Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLMER:

H.J. Res. 181. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the first week in March of each year as Save Your Vision Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.J. Res. 182. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to limit the tenure of Senators and Representatives in Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.J. Res. 183. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MacGREGOR:

H.J. Res. 184. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.J. Res. 185. Joint resolution to create and prescribe the functions of a Commission on the Establishment of a National Humanities Foundation; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H. Con. Res. 92. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the distribution and viewing of the U.S. Information Agency film on the late President Kennedy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H. Con. Res. 93. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with re-

spect to the distribution and viewing of the film "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," prepared by the U.S. Information Agency on the late President Kennedy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H. Con. Res. 94. Concurrent resolution proposing the recognition of the village of Whitehall, Washington County, N.Y., as the birthplace of the U.S. Navy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLMER:

H. Res. 101. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H. Res. 102. Resolution to create a committee for small unions; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H. Res. 103. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States should ratify the Genocide Convention recommended by the General Assembly of the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MURRAY:

H. Res. 104. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to conduct investigations and studies with respect to certain matters within its jurisdiction; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 105. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the investigations and studies authorized by House Resolution 104; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H. Res. 106. Resolution to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 2489. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Signorile; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 2490. A bill relating to the transportation and gas distribution facilities operated by New Orleans Public Service, Inc., a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Louisiana and operating in the city of New Orleans, La., and all the shares of whose common stock are owned by Middle South Utilities, Inc.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2491. A bill for the relief of Alicia Concepcion Zea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2492. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Dora Fabro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2493. A bill for the relief of Lt. Gen. Bryant L. Boatner, U.S. Air Force, retired; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2494. A bill for the relief of Maria Mantia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H.R. 2495. A bill for the relief of Victor Neagu Manoliu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2496. A bill for the relief of Allah P. Asker, Ahlam P. Asker, Talal P. Asker, Dia P. Asker, Samir P. Asker, and Samira P. Asker; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2497. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Serra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2498. A bill for the relief of Marietta C. Bibeau; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 2499. A bill for the relief of Remedios Ocampo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2500. A bill for the relief of Yoshihiro Okamoto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2501. A bill for the relief of Wai Sing Ko; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2502. A bill for the relief of Isola Arrighi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2503. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Melchiori; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2504. A bill for the relief of Alojz Grudenic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2505. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Kay Sue Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2506. A bill for the relief of Jack Sun (also known as Sun Hui Chak); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2507. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maxima E. Chua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2508. A bill for the relief of Tom Wai Min; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2509. A bill for the relief of Tom Keng Foo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2510. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Milana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2511. A bill for the relief of Lee Foo Sai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2512. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Wan Yau Louie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2513. A bill for the relief of Mohammed Ali Amool and his wife, Sedighi Tan Hai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CABELL:

H.R. 2514. A bill for the relief of Sadat S. Zulfikar, Said H. Sharawi, Khadiga E. Arsalan, Hassan S. Sharawi, and Sherif S. Sharawi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONABLE:

H.R. 2515. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Maria Curatolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2516. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Whenna Eugenia Clark; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 2517. A bill for the relief of Girolamo Catalino, his wife, Maria Donati Catalino, and their daughter, Maria Catalino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2518. A bill for the relief of Harbhajn S. Sandhu and his wife, Malathi Sandhu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2519. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Carol Bright; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2520. A bill for the relief of Si Chul Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2521. A bill for the relief of Clementina Filippotti Florenza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2522. A bill for the relief of Meguerditch Avakian, his wife, Loosin Avakian, and their minor children, Ayda Avakian, Verjine-Eugenia Avakian, and Chazaros Avakian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2523. A bill for the relief of Joseph Benudiz and his wife, Carmen Arregui Zuluaga Benudiz, and their children, Carlos Benudiz, Salmon Benudiz, and Messod Prosper Benudiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2524. A bill for the relief of Mijo Zeljeznak; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORMAN (by request):

H.R. 2525. A bill for the relief of Douglas A. Smithers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DULSKI (by request):

H.R. 2526. A bill for the relief of Miss Estherina Zonghetti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 2527. A bill for the relief of Chin-Yao Cheng and Chin-Sui Cheng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2528. A bill for the relief of Alfred Siniora; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2529. A bill for the relief of Helen Pappa Konstantinou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 2530. A bill for the relief of Mario Dossi and Giuseppina Dossi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2531. A bill for the relief of Francesco Fidele and Concettina Fidele; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2532. A bill for the relief of Francesco Trapani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 2533. A bill for the relief of Nicola, Vera, Franco, and Ezio Milella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 2534. A bill for the relief of Ayhan Turkbas and his wife, Ozel O. Turkbas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 2535. A bill for the relief of Rosa Vexelman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2536. A bill for the relief of Cyla Gurewicz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2537. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Antonio Ferrante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2538. A bill for the relief of Pel-Chi Pan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2539. A bill for the relief of Claudine Annie Madec Hersh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2540. A bill for the relief of Ordella Agatha Aldred; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2541. A bill for the relief of Aram Bagdasar Dinkci and Araksi Dinkci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2542. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Adelaide Hoffman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 2543. A bill for the relief of Guiseppe Carcione; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARVEY of Michigan:

H.R. 2544. A bill for the relief of Guzin Delman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2545. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Bonifacia Cruz Wojcik; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2546. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rebil Mehmet Hankan and his wife, Mesadet Seher Hankan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 2547. A bill for the relief of Yusef N. Musalli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 2548. A bill for the relief of Maria Rosalinda de Medeiros Pacheco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2549. A bill for the relief of Marjorie E. Woodward; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2550. A bill for the relief of Ana Santos Nogueira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2551. A bill for the relief of Branco da Gloria Franco Freitas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2552. A bill for the relief of Mario Miranda; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2553. A bill for the relief of Ramiro Jesus Lopes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2554. A bill for the relief of Ernesto Manuel Amaral Furtado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2555. A bill for the relief of Rui Ferreira Marques; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2556. A bill for the relief of Manuel Paulo Tavares; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 2557. A bill for the relief of Frank Simms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 2558. A bill for the relief of Chaldo Giannopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2559. A bill for the relief of Fang-Tsun Kuo and his wife Agatha Mei-Tso Kuo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2560. A bill for the relief of Bienvenido V. Ticsay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2561. A bill for the relief of Nandalal Yepuri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 2562. A bill for the relief of Carmela Togni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2563. A bill for the relief of Avriel Cubas Price and Clinton L. Price; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2564. A bill for the relief of Michele Buffa, his wife Orsola Buffa, and children Juan and Geronima Buffa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 2565. A bill to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of the University of Chicago; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 2566. A bill for the relief of Capt. Vernon H. Detrick, U.S. Air Force; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PICKLE:

H.R. 2567. A bill for the relief of Tancredo Townsend; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 2568. A bill for the relief of Louis Jung Shaw Gore, his wife, Sue Won Wong

Gore, and their two sons, Jone Yee Gore and Jone Fon Gore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 2569. A bill for the relief of Dr. Eulalia Sayas DeBattiste; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 2570. A bill for the relief of Mui Kim Chen Liang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2571. A bill for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2572. A bill for the relief of Dr. Vincent Palumbo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

H.R. 2573. A bill for the relief of Kenneth Peter Sampson, also known as Kenneth Peter Henderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 2574. A bill for the relief of Amy Ann James; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of California:

H.R. 2575. A bill for the relief of Miss Anahid Nerses Grashian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Texas:

H.R. 2576. A bill for the relief of Joao Pereira Moraes and Maria da Gloria Moraes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TODD:

H.R. 2577. A bill for the relief of Gary Rosenhagen Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2578. A bill for the relief of Maxie L. Rupert; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN:

H.R. 2579. A bill for the relief of Elvira Cammisa-Viggiani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

70. By Mr. MOORE: Petition of the Clarksburg Chamber of Commerce, Clarksburg, W. Va., favoring construction of the Stonewall Jackson Reservoir; to the Committee on Public Works.

71. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the city of Richmond, Calif. petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the challenge by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party of the five Mississippi Representatives; to the Committee on House Administration.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A Clash in Basic Assumptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 12, 1965

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, we all know that a great deal of what is said during a national political campaign is intended only for the moment. Much of it takes on a peculiarly hollow ring when read or repeated several weeks after an election.

No such disadvantage attaches to the remarks of a colleague which I have obtained permission to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. During the campaign, the Honorable RICHARD HANNA, who represents a portion of my neighboring Orange County, Calif., was asked to discuss a foreign policy conflict which had emerged in positions taken by the two major candidates for President.

With many of us, I am afraid such an opportunity would have become the occasion for intensely partisan remarks. But DICK HANNA, displaying the breadth and charity that have marked his outlook as a Member of this House, chose instead the clinical approach. He ana-

lyzed the dialogs developing on foreign policy. And he found that there existed a clash in basic assumptions which seemed to bar any sort of consensus. His assessment of the radical right—with which Mr. HANNA disagrees as strongly as with the radical left—is based on considerations of cause and effect, rather than what he sees as good or evil.

I commend this address to the attention of other Members.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—A CLASH OF BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

(By Hon. RICHARD T. HANNA)

We have had, in this campaign, a real conflict between the two presidential candidates over questions of foreign policy. To a